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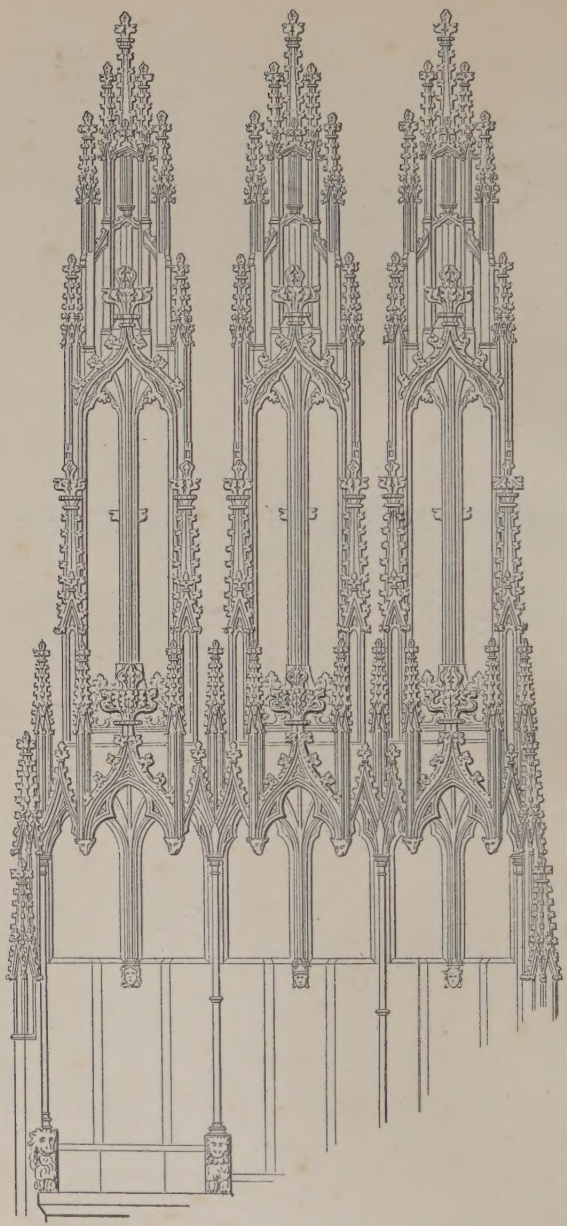

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A SHORT HISTORY

OF

The Ancient Diocese

OF

EXETER

From the Conquest to the Church Congress of 1894,

WITH

APPENDIX

BY

HERBERT REYNOLDS, M.A.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

Priest Vicar and sometime Librarian of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, at Exeter.

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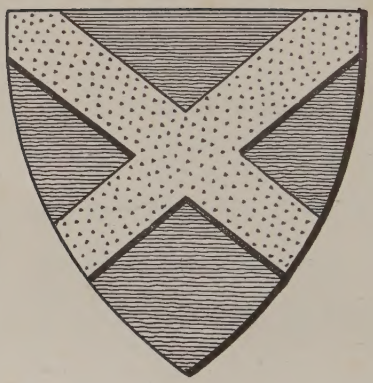

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PREFACE.

It does not require the experience of well nigh a quarter of a century to justify the writer in denying that "Cornwall and Devon are good for nothing but junket and the Weekly Entertainer." Vulgar and tame they may be to the world-wide traveller, but in Great Britain there is no district with greater claims on the lover of romance, ecclesiastical lore and sacred associations. The utmost self denial and severity is desirable in endeavouring to identify modern names in Cornwall with those in our ancient calendars. It is most difficult to resist the fascination of the ingenious stratagems by which Borlase, as an eminent example, essays to clear up the dense mist under which the local dedications, festivals and revels are concealed.

The case of Ludgvan is one of the least monstrous and impossible. By far the easiest way to escape from this labyrinth of contradictions and confusions is to adopt the somewhat cruel theory that the Anglo-Roman clergy, after the Saxon invasion, knew no more of the early Calendars of the Cornish Churches than did the Cromwellian usurpers of the Catholic ephemerides and diptychs. Whatever is known, and indeed unknown, of the period antecedent to the Norman invasion is here but briefly touched. In the 11th century there are documents of irrefutable reputation and up to the present time it is possible to quote documentary evidences of local provincial interest without number. The difficulty has been to do full justice to all within prescribed limits.

Devon and Cornwall are fortunate in possessing numerous students if not societies through whose constant endeavours the topography of the counties has been amply illustrated, but the

palm must be given to the Devonshire Association for the magnanimity with which its members undertook the publication of the Exeter Domesday, in a translated form, and for placing such an immense task in the hands of so laborious and competent a scholar as Mr. Brooking Rowe.

The publication of the Episcopal Registers by the persevering exertions of Canon (non-residentiary), Hingeston Randolph furnishes a strong proof that there is a great demand for further knowledge of the antecedent events of Ecclesiastical History in its innumerable departments, not only in the Western provinces but throughout England and America.

The present work is an attempt to furnish to readers, who hesitate to accept the statement of the Church's continuity, an account of occurrences and of eminent and of remarkable persons who have passed across the stage of Church life in this particular part of Great Britain, without any attempt to explain or palliate their conduct. They are not simply successive scenes of clerical life.

This has been chiefly done by reference to inaccessible MSS. and rare printed books.

The Church Congress of 1894 registered an epoch in the life of the Church of England in the most remarkable sphere of her work.

The 11th century saw the foundation of the Cathedral See of Leofric at Exeter, under the Royal patronage of Edward the Confessor. The 19th century witnessed the re-institution of the Cornish See, under the patronage of the Duke of Cornwall. In that interval, 800 years had passed. Before that day, the history of the Church of Christ in Devon and Cornwall is enveloped in fogs and mists, which even such authorities as Bishop Stubbs have been unable to illuminate. There stand out, however, in these dark periods great gaunt figures of ancient giant, and Saint, champions of courage, honor and truth, such as in Lyonnesse, where the distant echoes of their

voices are still heard. During the later period, civilization, the handmaid of Christ in His Church, has in a manner replaced the old worn weapons of warfare with superstition, ignorance and vice, by the quick-firing artillery of science and education.

The land, the people, the churches remain in great measure the same, but a current of newly excited interest is struggling to kindle energy and expel apathy, in the mining, fishing, and rural populations from Penzance to Porlock, from Seaton to Sennen.

The adaptation of ancient endowments and edifices to modern needs leaves neither stone nor bone unutilized.

The Western Counties have ever been the battlefield of the sharpest contests. They are now not a whit behind the midland and northern provinces in spiritual activity, in educational enterprise. Rather they are in advance. Experience of the miners of the North, the furnacemen of Cumberland, the cobblers of Northants, the colliers of Staffordshire, the mechanics of Birmingham, the sailors and soldiers at Aldershot, Plymouth and Portsmouth, of the agricultural villages of Yorkshire, Worcestershire and Bedfordshire, contradicts without compromise the astounding prophecy of Charles Kingsley, that the Neo-Anglicanism of 1851 would be a failure. Comparison of the relative condition of those parishes wherein the old Evangelical tenets and rites still obtain, with those in which the doctrines and practices of these Neo-Anglicans prevail is not encouraging to those who still persist in asserting that the Tractarians of the 19th century had neither the sincerity nor success of the Methodist of the 18th.

The itineraries which the author laid out for himself traversed the whole of Devon and Cornwall in every direction and justify him in making this assertion, that a man, with ordinary faculties of observation, who walks from village to village and shore to shore, must be intensely impressed with the advance made by the parochial clergy in winning the attention and affections of the people.

Whether it be in the railway carriage, or on the road, across the moorland tract, by the sea waves, or on the coach, the clergy are recognized with respect which was impossible before the days of Bishop Phillpotts.

Be he a well-known missioner as Atherton, Wilmot-Buxton or Cronshaw; a novelist as Baring-Gould; a cricketer as Warner or Copleston; a sportsman like Jack Russell; even a voluminous writer like Sadler; a peacemaker *(non sine armis)* like Hammond; a ritualist like Chase; a devout pietist like Dumbleton or Prynne; even a critical scholar like Tregelles or Scrivener; a ready-wit like Manley Hawker; an archdeacon in gaiters; or a Bishop, carrying his own carpet bag or his pastoral staff in a quasi gun-case; from the most ascetic curate to the roughest parson from the wilds of Doone-land or Dartmoor, for one, for all, the commercial traveller, and the old market woman laden with her basket of miscellaneous necessaries, have a look of sympathy, a courteous inquiry or a hearty shake of the hand.

The strength, the victory, and the glory of this Sacred Commonwealth consist in the recognition of mutual responsibilities and privileges by every member of the Established Church of England.

This present history was in part written for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The author having been unable to comply with the usual conditions of the Committee, received the utmost consideration at their hands. The MS. was returned to him.

The work has been re-written under circumstances of great trial, but it is hoped that the delay in its completion will be in some degree condoned in consideration of the large amount of original matter which has been added, and of the extension of its limits from 350 to over 450 pages with appendix.

S. SATIVOLA, V. ET M.,
A.D. 740.

CHAPTER I.

THE pre-eminent honor of the earliest branch of the Celtic Church nowhere is more readily recognized than in that particular province of Great Britain which still goes by the name of Cornwall, removed as it is and ever in all probability will be, from those lines of rapid and busy international communication which rob (all unintentionally) most ancient haunts of legendary lore and saintly grace of their sweetest attractions. It would, however, be extremely difficult to deprive this portion of the United Kingdom of that hereditary charm which has in the towns and villages of this, the westernmost, county of England, stamped both the land and the people who own and till it with a distinctive and all unmistakeable character.

If with a reverent suspicion we are compelled to dismiss the extravagant but convenient legends of St. Joseph and the Glastonbury thorn, we cannot plead guilty to repudiating in the same breath the tales which Gildas, Leland, Usher and other masters of ancient history have left us from personal inspection and local experience of the holy and goodly company of bishops, saints and martyrs who stamped their identity on the Churches of the West. The impression which they have in some mysterious manner left upon the coasts of Devon and Cornwall has as yet proved impervious to all the hasty changes of railway traffic and commercial aggression. And yet there was a time—was it 2,000 years ago?—when keen Phenician merchants forced their storm-tossed fleets through the Straits of Hercules, all round the ironbound coasts of Northern Spain, and reached these sheltering river banks, up which they drew their ships, and, having purchased from the savage miners on the shores of Tamar, of Dart, of Exe and of Teign the precious metal, went home to the brighter sunnier East, thinking little of the uncouth manners and the wild worship of the skinclad natives.

At what period and under what influences the Christian Church was established in this distant province, we have no means of ascertaining.

There seems no reason to doubt that the tribe of the Dumnonii occupied the territory comprised in the old Diocese of Exeter, and that Isca, "the town among the woods," was their capital. If any proofs be sought of the theory that a system of judicature was regularly in force, they may be seen in the vast flint rocks which are found at Widworthy in South Devon, at Grimspound in the parish of Manaton and in Crockerntor on Dartmoor. Here, indeed, was held a stannary court until the requirements of civilization demanded a place of business more in keeping with the conduct of official routine.

The Gorsedd or Cheese-wring at Drewsteignton is the most vivid representation of the awful solemnity of those debased heathen rites which ruled the aboriginal inhabitants of this wild region. Here the Archdruid sat in judgment. Here many a wretched victim cringed in his death agony beneath the terror of the sacrificial blade, or writhed in the excruciating torments of the raging flames. And yet it was but one day's easy sail, with prosperous wind, to bring the frail craft from Ireland to these shores, and thus there one day came, in no greedy search of precious metal or of glittering hoard, but in the spirit of their Master, the dauntless ones, to preach to the wild tribes of "the province called Cornwall" the laws of healing Peace, Goodwill and Love Incarnate. The history of the Celtic Saints is so enveloped in obscurity that it is difficult to say for certain to which of the many in the noble Army of Martyrs the credit of first ministering to the Britons of Wessex is to be ascribed.

From Hartland Head on the north coast of Devon, to S. Sennen at the extreme west and from St. Burian on the south-west to St. Germans on the easternmost boundaries of Cornwall there is found nor church, nor headland, nor bay which bears not the hallowing significance of some hermit's abiding place or cell. If any corroboration of ancient legend or of pious use were asked, could more be required than these apparently ineradicable names, which through every change of constitution in political and national history have borne unswerving evidence to the truth of those high and holy lives and the supernatural glory of that kingdom of which they were at one and the same time Princes, Priests and Prophets?

What debt of gratitude does not the Saxon and the British Church owe to the large heart, the boundless enthusiasm of St. Patrick and St. Columba.

Patrick, the son of *Brychan*, a British regulus, brought up steadfastly in the Christian Faith, what was his first impulse

but that of Benedict? to choose the quiet life of contemplation, clean contrary to his parents' wish. Placed, however, eventually under St. Budock or Corentin, he came within the reach of St. Patrick, who inspired in his already passionate spirit a longing to be more intimately conformed to the Divine Example, and removing with his disciples from Tibidy, he founded a monastery at Landevennec, near Brest, there to practice those ascetic austerities which with his miraculous powers obtained for him such immense popularity in all the churches, as is plainly shewn by the fact that his name is known under at least fifty different forms.

What part, if any, he may have taken in the evangelization of the Cornish we know not, nor can we speak with any certainty of another Saint who has given name to a stall in the new Cathedral Church of Truro, St. Conan. If he be identified with the son of Fergus, of the race of Conall Gulban, he is, therefore, related to St. Columba, and was recognized in his day by the two honorable distinctive appellatives, " the beloved " and " the glorious athlete."

But if we desire to hear of holy men in those dark days who not merely honored churches with their names but actually with their own feet trod the very soil which we now tread, and bedewed with their tears the same stones which we now press with careless feet, then we will take our stand on that sheer rugged rock that dares the Atlantic storms, and sip the waters of that holy well. For this is indeed the very ground where, 1,300 years ago, there knelt in earnest prayer Nectan, the eldest child of Brechan, king of Brecknock, true Celtic devotee, little thinking that his unselfish labours of love would win so wide appreciation as to carry his fame throughout the whole kingdom of Dumnonia. Indeed with St. Nicholas he shared the pride of being the patron of shipwrecked mariners if we read aright the vow that Githa mother of the luckless Harold made when her husband Godwin was saved from

imminent danger on the perilous coast. Here at Hartland, in fulfilment of her pious oath, she founded a college of secular canons, which seems in later times to have come in for the special benediction of the ever energetic Walter de Stapledon, who is stated—on what grounds we know not—to have been both "clerk and advocate of the abbey."

The Chapel of St Nectan also, near Lostwithiel, testifies to the honour which attached to the memory of this Irish apostle.

But the glory of Cornish hagiology shines more brightly in the annals of such incomparable Heralds of the "Godspel" (for the old Anglo-Saxon MS. of Leofric less euphoniously but more simply leaves the ancient spelling) as St. Kieran, and St. Petrock, and from these it is that we are led on to the later and more authentic records of the early British Church.

Son of a Cornish Prince, Petrock took up his humble abode on the banks of the River Hayle. Educated in the Island of Saints, at an early age he, like every true son of the Church in those bright days of genuine and unflinching zeal, made his pilgrimage to Rome, returning with three faithful comrades, all together to spend their life and finish their course in the conversion of heathen in those bleak wilds, and all together lay their bones within the first Church of what was subsequently called Petrockstow. There they, with their leader, found a resting-place, but on him alone does the interest of students now as of devotees in medieval days concentrate. In that ancient town they had no more precious treasure than the relics of the Saint which had, as we must believe, obtained so high a reputation by the middle of the twelfth century that the clergy of the Abbey of Mevennus succeeded in carrying them off in the hopes that the same miraculous powers which had gained great honor for the remote Cornish Church might be wrought in their favour. The period at which this shameful act of sacrilegious jealousy was perpetrated was unpropitious to the French pirates, and Henry II. was the last man to

think that dishonor done to a Saint (or quick or dead) would escape condign punishment. By the King's special interposition they were speedily recovered for the rightful owners and restored to the Saint's shrine, where the ivory casket which contained them remains to this very day. His soul must indeed be dead to things unworldly and old-timed, who can, without the kindling of a noble purpose, stand beside the little shrine, where lay for long years beneath the shifting sands the headless body of St. Patrick's resolute disciple, the saintly Kieran or Piran, for be it on millstone or on altar slab, as ancient legend tells, they found their way to these wild shores and left the indelible footprints of the Truth they knew and loved on every nook and corner of this coast.

It may be said by idle scoffers of their simple faith that had not Cornwall been so far removed from all the great and stirring routes and movements of the world of commerce and of culture, all these old landmarks of a childish and superstitious age had been fortunately for ever swept away. The answer is that long before the cities and capitals of the middle ages had secured their glory and affluence these very obscure villages, which the overworked citizen frequents in the bright summer holidays, were the homes of teeming populations, centres of bustling industry, and from the lengthy seaboard which belongs to the whole diocese, the resort of traders from all parts of the world. The geographical position of Cornwall has from the first given it the opportunities which few of the other provinces of Great Britain could possess. Between lat. 50°-51°, and long. 4°-6°, it stretches out into the Atlantic with inviting tenderness, courting, as it were, the anxious mariner to stay awhile and test its hospitable shores, and were it not for those bright spirits of that age the poetry, life and grace of all these hallowed spots had never been. The fact is that the Church has here her strongholds and her fortresses of impregnable strength. Man's rage in bygone

days has proved futile to eradicate the foundations of the ancient Celtic Church. To give, however, the lives of all that host of holy men who found in Cornwall scope for their heaven-sent ambition or a resting place when their labours were accomplished, would be here and now an impossibility. It must suffice to merely give their names.

Of those who were either natives of the West or immigrant from Ireland, or from Wales, we may name Melianus, King of Cornwall, and Melor his son; Gerennius, another Cornish King, now commemorated in St. Gerrans; and Keby, son of Solomon, all of Royal parentage.

Leland will have us to remember all the devout progeny of Brechan, King of Wales—twenty-four in number—whose names are imperishably perpetuated in the churches of St. Tethe, Endellion (with its once active but now sinecure prebends), Maben, St. Clether, Advent and Morwenstow, with all the remaining galaxy of Celtic martyrs.

Nor can, indeed, the valiant posse of Irish apostles, the "*bodan*," or ministers who hail from the land of St. Patrick be ignored: Sennen, Crowan, Allen, Ia, Erghe, Gwinnear, Enoder, Ervan, Withiel and Budoc, names of parishes well known throughout Cornwall, sure evidences of an age rich in souls already sealed for Christ.

Nor through the darker days of Danish slaughter and homeless despair, when all their precious service books had perished in their burning churches, did the Cornish Church forget or lose the merits and the comfort of these champions of the faith.

The Martyrology of the Exeter Monastery which even now exists, marks a place which loving tradition had assigned to many saints of the British Church whose names are never so much as whispered in the Menologies of the Northern Province. Rich indeed is the Diocese of Exeter in her roll of

saintly men whose birthdays—for thus does the Church of Christ speak of their end—are thus recorded.

Amongst the exceedingly rare books which have survived the ravages of the Danes and the ignorant mischief of the Royal Commissioners, one remains at Exeter which attracted the attention of no less a scholar than Wharton, whose notes are now in the Lambeth Library. He calls the Martyrology "very old and elegant." It is certainly most clear in its statements as to the honor of those saints who have won fame and glory for the Cross of Christ in pre-historic days. The first is the birthday of St. Branwalarencher, the martyr, son of King Kenen, to whom the church of Branscombe, in the south-east coast of Devon, is supposed to be dedicated.

Next comes St. Kyeran, Bishop and Confessor, better known as St. Piran. To him succeeds St. Winwallow, Abbot and Confessor. Then two most obscure but worthy Cornish names appear, but without any honorable description, save only with the remark before inscribed:—"In greater Britain, in the province, which is called Cornwall—Natale, that is, the birthday of the Holy Bishops and Confessors, Karentoc and Carnoc."

The next entry of a distinctly local character is the Translation of Relics at Exeter, which, as the notary observes, was "commended" by many great miracles.

We come now, however, to the most valuable clue, which puts beyond all question the impression made by the great disciple of St. Patrick on the devout churchmen of his day.

"In Greater Britain, in the place which is called Bodmin, the day of St. Petrock the Confessor, who, divinely moved, forsook the footsteps of this earthly kingdom and the warfare of this worldly life to win by the sweetness of the lonely life the glory of the heavenly kingdom."

It is clear, too, that at this period St. Sidwell was recognised under her Latin rather than her Saxon name, as we have on August 5th; "In Greater Britain, outside the walls of the

city of Exeter, the day of *Sancte Sativole* virginis et martyris." Then with the same geographical definition we find further on:—"at the place called Tavistock, the deposition of St. Rumo, Confessor."

There are also amongst the other saints mentioned as suffering or dying in Greater Britain some which appear to defy recognition, though their names have a familiar ring. Such is the celebration of St. Beornwald on the street called "Benitona."

With this imperfect but interesting list it would be well to compare another calendar of the Church of Sarum, which dates from the ninth century.

Easier then would it be to argue in the very sight of those extraordinary monuments of broken and scattered stones which are so widely scattered on the wild Cornish hills that there never were any nations of ante-historic times living on the very ground now traversed by the iron horse, than to contradict the testimony of the Church to the men who came across the sea to convert the Saxons to the Gospel.

There are authorities of no mean order and high repute, men of experience, and yet unable to agree on the fundamental principles of criticism, who tell us that Druidism was never to any extent in antagonism with Christianity in this part of Britain, on the one hand, and on the other assert with uncompromising emphasis that the people of Dumnonium were inveterately sunk in all the basest forms of Druidical fetishism.

It must be confessed that a diligent study of the innumerable cromlechs, pillars, kistvæns, cairns, and circles in or under, or even in proximity to which human calcined remains are almost invariably found, leads to the conviction that were no semblance of Christian symbolism is forthcoming it is most improbable that the doctrines of the Gospel to any degree

prevailed. It is, therefore, only agreeable with the commonly received notions to suppose that the early martyrs of the British Church who are met with in the first Martyrologies of our Church won the crown at the hands of their heathen persecutors in Cornwall during their noble attempts to persuade them to exchange the horrors of Druidical superstition for the pure light and true knowledge of God.

"Frigid philosophy" may assert that the tendency has always been to canonize witnesses for truth who never merited any more than they desired to be honored with the title of martyr. For example, Leland, speaking of the atrocities committed by one Rivold on his invasion of Cornwall, says that, having himself maimed Melorus, his nephew, by cutting off one hand and one foot, he persuaded, one, Cerealtine to murder Melorus Here there is no direct evidence to prove that either Rivold or Cerealtine committed these barbarities, because Melorus made a public profession of the Christian faith, bu. it is quite as reasonable to suppose that, as he had been brought up in a monastery, his religious convictions or habits were provocative in an eminent degree to such brutal dispositions.

Whether, indeed, it be an amiable or culpable compassion to give honor where honor is due, the facts remain that at a period much nearer to the actual occurrences than our own, there were men and women (St. Sidwell, for instance) whose inoffensive testimony to the truth as exhibited in gentleness of carriage and patience under insult and injury so strongly impressed the Church that she accorded them a place of high honor in her calendar of never-to-be-forgotten worthies.

In fact, the evidences on which the reputation of our earliest Cornish saints depend are so varied and irrefragable that none but a critic, who would judge political and ecclesiastical history by entirely different canons, could shake their testimony. Thus, of St. Corentin, it is a most valuable, because indirect, proof of

this veracity of Cornish tradition that Bede in his Martyrology has the birthday of St. Corentin, Confessor and Bishop, and that John of Glastonbury, in his list of the relics preserved there, mentions "os de Sancto Corentino Ep."

And if we search the other and fuller records of the Cornish Church we are struck with the importance which all historians of old date attached to all the legends and folklore which they could collect in this respect, simply working on the same lines as all the antiquarians of modern days, accepting what suits their own theory and repudiating all that makes for an adverse decision.

At Tregony is found one of the very finest of the ancient Cornish Churches.

About the middle of the fourth century lived Solomon, King of Cornwall. He had a son called Keby, who was ordained bishop by Hilary, of Poictiers, and then returned to his own country until, driven thence by the inhuman behaviour of the before-named Rivold, he took refuge in Wales for a brief period. On his return to his native shores, it was not for him to hold intercourse with the associates of his youth, but to take up his abode in a little hill which looked down upon the whole town where he lived in retirement, after his death, revered alike in Anglesea as in Wales. Thus the sanctity of St Keby redounded to the profit and growth of the town, and in the end Tregony became one of the most flourishing ports of Cornwall, until, by the retiring of the tide and the consequent loss of commerce, from prosperity it shrank back into a barren moor: the streets vanished, and the name alone remains to tell the tale of former glory. At the time of his death—at the end of the fourth century—we get beyond the range of mystery, and have solid facts to lead us in tracing the footsteps of the British Church. They are specially helpful in illustrating the history of Cornwall in connection with this particular hero. The presence of British Bishops at

the Council of Arles in 314, of Nice in 325, of Sardica in 347 and of Rimini in 359, has once and for all time settled the question. Britain was in touch with the capital and centre of Catholic learning and jurisdiction; her saints and martyrs received their title from the Roman Pontiff, but their local fame and local name is too intimately identified with the actual scene of their labours to be confused with that of any other holy name bearing an apparent relation. Thus, it is perfectly certain from every accessible record that St. Columba, to whom the Cornish Church is dedicated, is the virgin and martyr who died in 597, whose feast is kept on the 9th or 10th of June. Indeed, go where we will or read what we may, there remains in the Calendars of the Church, in the dedication of the churches, in the Christian names of the very children, testimony which no "new learning" can any more eradicate than disprove.

Take now, for instance, the list which Leland gives us of the saintly family who are responsible for most of the oldest churches in the peninsula. They are the children of Brechan, the Welsh prince, and their relics, laid with pious care, formed the foundation of the earliest altars whereon the Eucharist was celebrated in these rough sea-coast shrines.

Take the deanery of East: note the church of St. Ives: Ecclesia Sancti Ivonis, that is simply the church of St. Evan, Jevan, or John. So take another, more famous possibly as a sinecure prebend—that is Endellion. Thus the Valor Ecclesiasticus lets us know that the holy patron of this prebendal church was, like St. Columba, one of those gentler spirits whose devotion was as thorough as that of St. Melor.

We have but a very short distance to go in the same country, when we come to St. Minver, merely the easier and euphonious pronunciation of the old St. Menefrede or Menfer. Then, as it were, to make the three graces of the Cornish

Church, comes yet another Prebendal Church—that of St. Tethe; and, as if so bright an array were yet incomplete, St. Mabena—another sister—claims the little shrine of Mabyn, near Wadebridge. How, also, can we ignore the unassuming claims of other daughters of the same great prince, great, aye and glorious, in this respect, that he enriched the ancient Church with the gift of his own blood? His children, when once they set their feet on sand at Padstow, went—some north-east, some south—all in search of that seclusion which posterity has at last denied them. Thus went Holy Morwenna, St. Clether and St. Keri, not to pass over St. Adwen—names easily recognised, even to the present day, in the churches called after their names at Morwinstow, Egloskery and Advent.

Thus we may pass throughout the whole length and breadth of this rich province, and find scarce a bare spot or rugged rock to which in times of old poor miners or weary mariners might not, nay did not, look with hope and love. Little cause for wonder is there then that names so full of meaning and so dearly cherished still hold fast. Of Saxon saints, indeed, the Cornish people know and care but little, and indeed what need of any such strange names had they? It seems indeed an anachronism that, as all eminent historians affirm, the history of the Cornish Church is hidden in obscurity, when, go where we will, from Hartland Point to Land's End, the bright light of well-authenticated facts illumines the whole landscape with a nimbus of imperishable glory. The most sceptical historian cannot tread such ground nor breathe such air without becoming inspired with reverence and awe.

When, then, we cross the Tamar, and tread on ground which knew little of such hallowing instances, the two great tracts of Dartmoor and Exmoor leave a fair and well-watered valley in which, almost to our surprise, we meet with two indisputable Celtic dedications—Iddesleigh and St. Cyres—not

to mention the old church of Dunchideock, which, notwithstanding its modern dedication to the Trinity, retains the old sign of Dumnonian origin in the termination *ock*, while in the name Cowick, which we see close by in the alien priory of the Benedictine rule between Ide and Alphington, we are brought back again to the Celtic St. Kewe or Lanou. This very name had also appeared as Cuic in the manumissions of serfs, found bound up with the Missal of Bishop Leofric, and as Coic in the Domesday Survey. As we are now within a short distance of the old Dumnonian capital, successively and at times jointly occupied by widely different and discrepant races, it will be apposite to the present subject to observe how distinctly each nationality within the walls left its own special identity marked unmistakeably in the churches which clustered round the Monastery of St. Mary and St. Peter beneath the sheltering strength of Rougemont.

Exeter, as frontier town and market, has engaged the diligent attention of the most industrious English historians. The Britons were still in possession of their inland mountainous districts when the Saxon invaders came upon them. In jealous propinquity to the most holy relics which, in all probability, from a very early date gave the monastery of SS. Mary and Peter its pre-eminence, there had sprung up the churches of St. Petrock, St. Kyeran, St. Pancras, and St. Paul—not, in this last instance (if we may believe some painstaking enthusiasts), the Apostle, but, as seems more locally appropriate, the less famous Bishop of Laon, a native of Devonshire. In fact, there is a distinctly Celtic cluster of dedications just as there also is of Saxon. The city still glories in them, and in their restored beauty, efficiency, and organization bears witness to the continuous chain of evidence which binds the English Church of the past to that of the present both in village and city.

The enclosure of the Cathedral precincts in 1286 marked,

while it is also amalgamated, the distinctive boundaries of the civic and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions, for the line of demarcation ran along between the houses opening into High Street and the cemetery of St. Peter's. The deeds which yet survive of that constructive and practical age shew that every inch of ground was carefully watched, and, if any encroachment were so much as hinted, it was made the subject of legal process, even to the projection of a beam or the insertion of a corbel.

The area of Saxon predominence is so obvious to any casual visitor that it scarcely needs pointing out. There are the churches of St. Laurence, St. Stephen, St. Martin, Holy Trinity, St. George, St. John, and lastly, two which deserve special notice, St. Olave and St. Edmund. These two last belong to the reign of Canute, but the whole part of the city by the Northgate was occupied by the British, even as the extra-mural dedication of St. David testifies. One thing seems, however, certain: within the walls of Exeter there dwelt, each in their own quarter, and "equo jure" in all respects, the conqueror and the conquered, Celt and Teuton.

The fact is that both the saints of the Church of Exeter were of Saxon origin, and their legends being authenticated by documentary evidence, rise above the level of apocryphal romance.

St. Wynfrith and St. Sydwell have no rivals in the field of godly chivalry and enterprise. Let us look at the latter first, if only because the church which bears her name, and the well hard by, attract us to the Saxon settlement outside the walls of Exeter, and shew us thereby the separation of the British from the Saxon even on the very outskirts of the town, the former adhering to the northern district, the latter to the south-east.

It is thus that Leland speaks of her, quoting professedly

the Lectionary which de Grandisson, the altogether uncompromising champion of local worthies, took the trouble to write, so convinced was he of perpetuating in human memory the fame of such hereditary witnesses to the continuity of the earlier Saxon Church. The disappointing incident in this otherwise important connection is that, though Leland appears to have seen the actual writing of this indefatigable student, it is now wanting, and that in the companion volume—the Ordinale—which is intimately associated with it in the daily offices of the Church of Exeter, the very page which contains the order of the mass is also gone. All the more thankful are we to the ubiquitous and discriminating prelate for preserving to us the names and bare facts of the life of the local saint, till the 14th century. Of Saxon birth she undoubtedly was, as her own original name (before it was transformed into the less known, but then more acceptable Sativola) bears witness. Benna, a native of the Anglo-Saxon colony on the outskirts of the old capital of the West, had four daughters—Juthwara, Eadwara, Wilgitha and Sythwella. Of this excellent quartette but two are now remembered, the first, indeed, only by the translation of her relics at Sherborne on July 13th, the last by the generally accepted tradition of the manner of her martyrdom, vividly portrayed in stone in the church of her dedication, and in the east window of the Cathedral Church, in each illustration with the instrument of martyrdom at hand, the scythe. The story goes that her stepmother, desirous of obtaining her property, had recourse to violent means to attain her ends, and with one blow severed the head of St. Sidwell from her shoulders. We shall seek in vain for frequent and general dedications to this Saxon virgin martyr, one only occurring at Laneast—a chapelry annexed to St. Stephen's priory at Launceston, which was given to the Cathedral by King Henry I. The date of her martyrdom is A.D. 740. The history of the other great Saxon light of the

Church of Exeter carries us some eight miles off from the old Exanceaster, and sets us down on the banks of the little Creedy stream in the wild country which leads up to the moor. At Crediton, in Devon, says Bishop de Grandisson in his Legenda Sanctorum, was Wynfrith born, son of a pagan father, who had thus far emigrated into the strange British territory, but of a Celtic mother, in whose bosom burnt that holy fire of heavenly ardour which so prematurely flashed into the tender soul of her boy Wynfryth. He was but a child when itinerant clerks came on their errand of evangelical commerce to his father's home and spoke of heavenly things on which his simple mind had ere this even long been set. It was their way, writes Willibald, the attentive historian of St. Boniface, to go about preaching, but in few cases did they do so with more eminent profit to the Church than on that day when they came to the farmstead of the Saxon yeoman.

The lad panted, thus fervently does the keen observer of his after life (in the happy intensity of the Psalmist's thirsty plaint) describe the unquenchable enthusiasm of this youthful disciple—he panted for the religious life, but not until his father had suffered a severe illness and a solemn convention of his kinsfolk and acquaintance had been held was permission granted him to accept the invitation of the mission-band from the monastery at Adescanceaster. The exact constitution of this community we have no means of fully understanding, but that it was of a domestic character to which the children of Christian parents were eligible on the express condition of their self-consecration to the ministry in the lower orders of the Church seems extremely probable, the colleges of the prophets read of in the Old Testament as established in Israel by Eli and Samuel, furnishing both example and precedent.

Winfrith was accordingly received into the College at Exeter, and when study and devotion had enlarged his ideas of the office and power of the Catholic Church and kindled a

holy ambition, was sent to the Convent at Nutschellinge, at the head of Southampton Water Ordained priest at the age of thirty, he then went on a mission to Canterbury, and afterwards satisfied his long cherished wish for foreign travel by sailing from the port of Sandwich for Germany on his first missionary enterprise. This was not attended with success, and he returned to Nutschellinge to receive as the recognition of his abilities the offer of supremacy in the abbey. Such a position, however, had no charms for his active temperament, and so sailing again for Germany he laboured in Thuringia and Hessia, until, compelled to summon aid from home, he sent urgent entreaties, mingled with pious exhortations, to his connexions and friends in Devonia to come and join with him in the glorious work of converting the wild tribes of Northern Frisia.

The change of name, from what was called the "barbarous" Wynfrith to the more soft and orthodox Bonifacius, marked the great crisis of his public career. This took place at his consecration in 723, though his letters shew that his natural affection for the name of his childhood and nation survived even the higher honor which awaited him in his elevation to the Archbishoprick of Mainz The unconquerable energy which had in very early days carried the Celtic missionary band through not only the province of Cornwall and Armorica, but even into the fiercer depths of the great German forests, was certainly conspicuous to an unequalled degree in St. Boniface; and as need required and larger fields of spiritual adventure appeared open to his always willing retinue of followers, he swept the continental Teuton before his carefully organized staff of clergy into the net of the true Church, leaving behind him a name so highly honoured that when the news of his death reached England the General Synod, convened by Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, decreed that he and his cohort—for this was the noble name of military

significance given to his company of faithful followers—should have their martyrdoms celebrated annually in the Church of England. His own festival still holds its place in the Black Letter Calendar of our Prayer Book, and, though only two small churches in the kingdom claim the honor of his patronage, the testimony of the Universal Church is unequivocal to the praise of the Devonshire lad.

In the day of his necessity, when the claims of his immense diocese weighed heavily upon his heart, knowing the stern stuff of which the men of his province and fatherland were made, he insisted on his right to have their co-operation without grudging. Amongst these, Lullus his own relation and successor, at Mainz; after his days Frideric, of Utrecht, "the Devonian from Crediton"; Burchard, first Bishop of Wurtzburgh; Willibald, first Bishop of Eichstadt, were distinguished lieutenants of the Saxon Apostle of Germany. Of the no less loyal and trusty emigrant clergy and laity of both sexes, but of one heart and mind in the Evangelical Crusade, there came over to him to do his behests, Wigbert, Wunebald, St. Sola (founder of Solenhofen on Altmuhl), Liafwin, unmistakeably from the English fatherland, Walpurga, Abbess of Heidenheim, and Leoba, daughter, it may be, of parents in Western Britain. Of these many perished with the Primate, gladly sharing his patient death, in willing and cheerful obedience to his command to offer no resistance to the onslaught made by the wild horde of Pagans who, bent on revenge for the insult committed to their gods by the destruction of their sacred oak which Boniface had cut down as being an object of gross superstition, slew him and them as he was in the very act of administering the rite of Holy Confirmation to the Frieslanders whom he had converted. Dying at eighty-four years of age in 754, thus gloriously and humbly for his Master whom he had served from his childhood, he was buried in the Abbey of Fulda, and canonized, his memory being celebrated by the

English Church on June 5th. Apostolic in his unremitting care for Christ's flock, in spending and being spent, he always bore about in his bosom a copy of the Gospels, while his pleasant criticism on the uselessness of all gorgeous ritual, splendid sanctuaries, and costly accessories was happily summed up in his saying how "in old times there were golden prelates and wooden chalices, but in his own days wooden prelates and golden chalices"

May such an example urge many a lad from the quiet country towns of Devon to follow his steps who so well followed his Lord's.

LEOFRICUS, EP. EXON.
A.D. 1050-1077.

CHAPTER II.

If the expression of the early form of the bidding prayer in use in the Church of Exeter can be taken in any sense as a note of historical value, the monastic Church of Exeter had obtained no fame or position when "the most glorious King" Athelstan came westwards in pursuit of the Danish invaders.

"Ye shall praye," runs the somewhat lengthy supplication, "for the State of all holy Churche, for our Holy Fader the Pope with all his College of Cardinalls, &c., &c. Also ye shuld praye for the soule of Kinge Athelstan, the first founder of this place," &c.

It is graceless to scoff at the ancient tale of his passionate orisons and devout vows at the oratory of St. Burian, as, sword in hand, he threw himself upon the stones, and, as the price of his expedition to the Scilly Isles, vowed to endow a college to the honor of God and St. Berrione (as it is spelt in the Domesday Book), the sole provision being that an hundred masses with other pious offices be offered in his behalf.

On his victorious return the Abbey of the Blessed Mary and St. Peter was signally honored by his devout attentions, the most valuable of all his gifts being a collection of priceless relics which were solemnly enclosed in the new altar of the Benedictine Church. At this date the Church of Exon may most properly have been said to be founded and to enter upon a period of distinction and energy, and, when in 968 King Edgar reinforced the establishment, it was at once recognised as the rival of Bodmin, of St. Germans, and of the then firmly constituted See of Crediton, until the days of Leofric, who, as Chaplain of Edward the Confessor, may, without doubt, be with justice considered as the founder of that Cathedral Church, which has now for nearly 900 years been generally identified as the Matrix or Mother Church of the diocese.

It is from this date—the year 1050—that the present Cathedral Chapter has had any corporate existence, and, under improved and mitigated developments, arrived at its present state of general efficiency. The original Charter by which the Bishop's See was transferred from Crediton and settled at Exeter sets out by declaring that Eadward, by the grace of God, King of the English, actuated by motives of goodwill, had determined to consolidate the Episcopal Chair at the City of Exeter, "in the monastery of the Blessed Peter, chief of the Apostles, which is situated within the walls of the same city, by the authority of the Heavenly King, by my own and that of my consort Eadgytha and of all my bishops and earls, and, by virtue of this special grant and the assurance of this handwriting in and for all time to come, do constitute Leofric that he be the pontiff there, and those who shall succeed him, to the praise and glory of the Holy and indivisible Trinity Father and Son and Holy Spirit and to the honor of Holy Peter the Apostle."

The confirmation also of the former possessions of the Cornish See is an important link under the altered conditions

of the See of Exeter, to which reference must be necessarily made at a later period in the History of the Diocese. The words still read on the original Charter are as follows, literally translated :

"I give also all possessions to the same place belonging whatsoever they may be, as well in lands as in pastures, meadows, woods, waters, freemen, serfs, and bondwomen, laws, taxes and territories, unto Saint Peter and to the brotherhood of Canons there serving, that they may have at all times landed estate for the support of the body, whereby they may be enabled to be Christ's soldiers without trouble of mind.

"This, however, I make known to the Lord Pope Leo first of all, and confirm by his own attestation, then to all the English nobles, that the diocese of Cornwall, which formerly in memory of the Blessed Germanus and in veneration of Petrocus had been assigned to an Episcopal throne, the same with all the parishes thereto belonging, lands, vills, substance, benefits, I deliver to St. Peter in the city of Exeter, and so there I will the seat to be: that is, that Cornwall with its churches, to wit, that there may be one Episcopal seat and one pontificate, and one ecclesiastical rule, on account of the paucity and devastation of goods and people, inasmuch as pirates have been able to plunder the Cornish and Crediton churches; and on this account it has seemed good to have a more secure protection against enemies within the city of Exeter, and so there I will the seat to be; that is, that Cornwall with its churches and Devon with its churches may be united into one Episcopate and be ruled by one bishop. Therefore this special grant I, King Edward, lay with my own hand upon the altar of St. Peter, and the prelate Leofric by the right arm leading and my Queen Eadgytha by the left, I place in the Episcopal Chair, in the presence of my earls and kinsmen, nobles and chaplains, and with the assent and approval of the Archbishops Eadsine and Aelfrick, and all the

others whose names are mentioned at the end of this instrument," &c.

The formal sanction usual in such cases then follows, with the fiat or amen and the names of the co-signatories. The irrefragable historical evidence contained in this very remarkable document, now visible amongst innumerable other archives in the very church where it was ratified and dedicated more than 800 years ago, is extremely instructive. It leaves us in no doubt as to the causes which induced the Confessor to accede to the request of Leofric, his intimate adviser and companion. Not fifty years before, in 1003, Sweyn, the ruthless Dane, with his savage hordes had swept through the Kingdom of Wessex, whelming in blood and smoke, church, abbey, homestead, cot, and town. Their title deeds had perished in the flames, their books of office and of use had disappeared in the general havoc, while terror and despair had seized the hearts of even the bravest in the utterly irreparable ruin.

Both castle and church had sunk to the ground, and when Canute came to the throne there seemed as little probability of a dignified and permanent church being erected on the ashes of the old school of the Abbot Wolfard as there was in the dullest days of church stupor in the eighteenth century of a cathedral, after the heart of St. Hugh, springing out of the church of St. Marys, Truro.

Few persons in England at the present day have any such substantial reason for remembering the disastrous defeat which the Danes suffered from the Exeter citizens in 1001 as has the Vicar of Pinhoe, a pretty village about two miles out of Exeter, on the brow of the hill which looks towards the mouth of the Exe, for he now receives a pension of one mark a year for the service rendered by his predecessor in furnishing a timely supply of arrows to the English host. During their repeated invasions, inland villages no less than seaside hamlets had felt the awful scourge, so that the manors and lands which

the Exeter Convent had received as the gifts of successive monarchs had entirely disappeared. The number of houses stated in the Domesday Survey to be lying waste is immense when we consider the size of the city, a fact fully corroborated by the plaintive tale of want and destitution which the primary bishop of the see gives in his description of Cathedral effects and finances.

The expression which he uses is certainly remarkable, for it appears to shew that within the last fifty years, or at least since the recent endowments of Canute of which we read in his grant to Bishop Burwold in 1018, there had been a repetition of the Danish incursions along the south coast. One of the most curious documents now sewn into the Exeter Codex is the list of lands, ornaments, vessels and books, which Bishop Leofric gave to his church. On his arrival at Exeter, where he evidently hoped to enjoy greater security—and it has been whispered by some captious critics of his diplomatic removal of the Bishop's stool from Kirton—and dignity, he was enthroned with great glory, and, by command of the King, settled canons in the church. The satisfaction of his preferment must, however, have been very considerably discounted by the discovery that there were neither goods nor chattels of any description on the premises with the exception of one wretched little bit of land, three codices, and a reliquary. These were all that remained out of twenty-six manors and the other gifts which Athelstan had bestowed upon his clergy at Exeter.

The recovery of the lost manors at Culmstock, Branscombe, Salcombe, St. Mary Church, and Staverton, as also of the fee or farm of Sithfull, *alias* Sidwell, prompted an act of generosity on the part of his royal master, William the Conqueror, about twenty years afterwards, for as Leofric obtained from the Confessor in 1044 the manor of Dawlish, so now he obtained from the Norman usurper the Holcombe estate, and certain properties in Oxfordshire, including the manor of Bampton.

Of the numerous church necessaries, articles of furniture, and indispensable requisites of divine service it would be impossible to speak here particularly, suffice it to say they were adequate in quantity and appropriate in character, bells being specially named as forming a most important part of his munificent provision.

These have in every instance vanished, and at this interval of time this is no cause for surprise, but there is reason for unmitigated congratulation in the fact that while the solid instruments and ornaments of metal have departed, there remain in excellent condition volumes of parchment on which the writing of the Lotharingian or English scribes is as clear and as clean as on the day when they were first written. Many of these found their way, during the last century, into the hands of the well-known friend and patron of ancient literature—Dr. Bodley, founder of the Library at Oxford.

Twenty and two years did the highly favoured prelate live to confirm the foundations of the Cathedral constitution which he laid on the principles of the rule of St. Chrodegang (circa 766)—a system unquestionably authorised by the Church of England, but not necessarily suited to or popular in a Corporation so wealthy and influential as the Capitular Body of Exeter, their scattered estates and multifarious social and commercial affairs being incompatible with any pretence to the life of devotion, study and retirement. Thus it came about that in a short time any regular observance of this foreign rule was pleasantly and rigorously ignored until the end of the fourteenth century, when the canons, finding that the inferior officers of the Church claimed an habitual right to receive hospitality at the tables of their dignified brethren, persuaded Bishop Brantingham to complete the building of their college at the back of the deanery and, by the imposition of severe penalties, compel them to eat in their common hall and sleep in their own peculiar precincts within the walls of the Close.

Originally, at the commencement of the twelfth century, there can be no doubt that the Cathedral was supplied with its full number of twenty four canons and an equal number of vicars. In this condition of relative proportion he left them, after about twenty-three years of direction.

On February the 10th, 1073, Leofric was buried in his own church, and, unless modern restorations have misled, his body now lies beneath the canopy which faces the door of the chapel dedicated to St. James. Of these Norman prelates, Osbern his successor was no ignominious representative, who, though as William of Malmesbury has it—of strong English predilections and of amiable, frugal and irreproachable life—somewhat rashly courted the corrective interference of Pope Pascall II. and St. Anselm for his ungenerous treatment of the monks of St. Nicholas Abbey, then just settling in Exeter. The Norman clergy, however, put up with much for the wealth and honor of an English See and for many years filled that of Exeter.

During the twelfth century, which witnessed the long struggle as to the right of investiture, the See of Exeter was occupied by men who left their memorials not only in literature but in stone, the latter in this connection exciting more constant admiration than the rather abstruse compositions of an age when almost gross darkness overshadowed both palace and cottage. At Exeter—already famous for strength—the Warelwasts, being Normans, left their mark as builders: William, (1107-1127), son of the sister of William the Conqueror, chaplain and courtier, has the reputation of being the father of those stern towers which give to the Church of Exeter the appearance of a fair sister, elegant and delicate, guarded for God by the twin stalwart brethren on the bold slope that climbs up to the old Roman stronghold on Rougemont. Strength of structure and massive depth he gave them, founded on the solid rock, amidst the pleasant fields, gently

falling to the pure Exe; and, not content with this, he obtained royal confirmation from both Henry I. and Stephen for his newly ordered church.

It may not have been altogether a misfortune that in the siege of Exeter King Stephen battered the towers so lustily that he was mulcted in damages, recovering under the pressure of the clergy, who were responsible for this noble fabric, his somewhat callous conscience after the manner of Canute, and endowing the Cathedral Church with a charge on lands at Cullompton, which she holds, *mutatis mutandis*, unto this very day. Through many a siege against all the forces of artillery, ancient and modern, these mighty monarchs of the valley of the Exe—aye, even with many a crack and settlement visible to casual observers in the South Tower, caused in all likelihood by the immense weight and vibration of the finest peal in the county—like stern champions of the eternal loyalty of the Church of Exeter to her Faith and her King, stand unmoved. The small spires and battlements represent modern innovations. They mar the solemn glory of those Norman giants. But, weatherbeaten as they are, and manifold as have been the perils which have threatened them, they bear a motto, most suggestively carved by some thoughtful servant of the long dead past, in a plain but characteristic distich, declaring the miracle of the Incarnation, this great bulwark of the Faith:—

Primus Adam sic pressit Adam: salvet Deus illum,
Is qui venit Adam quaerere factus Adam.

which may thus be rendered:—

The First Adam—may God save him—
Adam so whelmed with shame,
That He who came to seek and save
Adam, Adam became.

Probably there was a *double entendre* in these quaint words. The allusion may have been meant for a certain officer or dignitary of the Church—one Adam de S. Brigida, who, either

by his unflinching severity or uncompromising insistence on strict adherence to the rule of St. Chrodegang (which was so extremely distasteful to the English clergy, that within a few years of its establishment in the new Cathedral Church of St. Mary and St. Peter it became a dead letter and was virtually and practically annulled), was voted the author of all mischief and discontent. The records of this century give us but scanty information as to the energy and influence of the Cathedral Church in this diocese, but in connection with divers of the most dignified abbeys we find definite facts.

First, Plympton holds high rank. Within the Chapter House there lie the remains of the two Warelwasts, of whom the former was deeply prepossessed in favour of this his establishment of Augustinians and left to his successors a quasi legacy of example they were never slow to follow, the church of that monastery wanting nothing of encouragement and support from the day of its birth to its dissolution in 1534, when it was surrendered by John Howe, the last Prior.

Of the endowments with which Bishop William Warelwast first enriched the Church of the Blessed Mary and St. Peter and Paul, there is one which is specially interesting as connected with an highly suggestive incident—the house and land of Clarembaldus in South Street, Exon. Whether this canon of the Church of Exeter was the best scholar in the chapter or of a more devout bent of mind, or of foreign birth and therefore a diligent correspondent with friends of the French Church, we have no means of knowing, but certain it is that towards the end of this century there was an interchange of letters between Hildebrande, of the Church of Mans, and this same Clarembaldus as to the authenticity of certain miracles said to have been wrought in the Church of Exon at the Feast of Relics.

That Exeter was rich in relics we know from the catalogue

which still exists: the greater part were the gift of the founder of the Church, and in all probability there was an anxiety on the part of the Cathedral Body to retain within the limits of the diocese as much as possible the offerings of the emigrant faithful who might be drawn in large numbers to the now famous and popular shrine of the recently martyred Archbishop at Canterbury.

That there was a practical and useful end served by these now frequent pilgrimages is clear from a moment's consideration of the habits of thought of the age The duty of the Church was by all means to enforce the holy doctrines, of which she is the depositary and guardian, and that at a period when means of instruction, no less than educational capacities, were of a low and primitive order in the more remote provinces of the kingdom A staff of clergy, with large opportunities within the precincts of their own Church, could, by offering special spiritual benefits to the penitent believers who were willing to sacrifice ease and wealth in return, present to the weary but hopeful traveller within the walls of his Mother Church—a sight which would gladden his heart and bring light to his eyes.

To see a church brilliantly illuminated, to take part in a comely and magnificent function with a dignified and honourable assembly of grave and aged priests, to watch the solemn, rich-robed procession winding round the noble aisles of the great Sanctuary, and hearken to the eloquent impassioned exhortations of the Bishop as he extolled the virtues and merits of the saints and martyrs whose precious relics shone with sparkling jewels in the feretory, while the specially appointed priest pronounced the high honor of the feast; this and such like ceremonies, for the Cornish miner or the devout mariner and yeoman, taught with a power irresistible, conciliatory, and essentially dogmatic.

So was it also with the frescoes which relieved the deadness

of dull stone beneath the canopies of the early bishops and their effigies, whether it were in the Church of Bodmin or St. Germans, at Crediton or at Exeter.

Even if it be true that the acme of mural decoration, wood and stone carving, brilliancy of painting, and luxuriance of glass characterize a later age (the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), there remain ample evidences of such agencies being employed at a far earlier date in the corbels of the choir and in the bosses of the roof, where the coronation of the Virgin, the Agnus Dei, and the Bishop censed by his attendant acolytes, speak with no uncertain voice of what were to the devout mind facts of equal value and parallel virtue with the Incarnation and Ascension. By the end, however, of the fourteenth century the Procession to the Relics was out of use, as the Registers testify, having been abolished "for the benefit of the Church."

A period, however, which was but elementary and imperfect in its organization for teaching the rural population in ways to which later generations became accustomed, was rich in institutions of religious and eleemosynary purposes, which grew in process of years under the fostering care of successive bishops. Such were the Priories of Launceston, Tywardreth, Karantock, and Truro, in Cornwall; St. Nicholas, Hartland, and Buckfastleigh, all founded before the Conquest, but re-founded and enriched by the ancient families of note in their respective manors.

Of these, the first was the wealthiest in Cornwall, claiming also at a later date, 1440, a distinction of a different nature, namely, of obtaining an indulgence of forty days for all contributing to the fund for supporting the minstrels of St. Mary Magdalen, Launceston, suggesting the possibility that, as the Abbey of Tavistock was distinctly a school of Saxon learning, the not far distant abbey across the Tamar prided herself on orchestral and vocal accomplishments.

The influence, too, of the daily offices of the Church was never ignored in the habits and statutes of the greater or even more humble houses. Just as at Exeter there was early mass under the rood screen at the altar of Bratton for the working classes, so at Launceston Prior Honyland erected a chantry over the altar of St. Margaret and John of Bridlington, charging the community with perpetual performance of the Divine Mysteries every customary day at sunset.

St. Andrew's Priory at Tywardreth, situate between Fowey and Lostwithiel, owed its foundation to the ancient family of Cardinham, in the time of the Conqueror. Not only was it dependent on the Abbey of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Angers, but one of the monks was called upon to serve a chantry within St. Mary's near Bayeux. This being not only an alien priory, but, from its very position near the sea, painfully exposed to hostile attacks, Bishop de Grandisson, with his habitual common sense, endeavoured to mitigate its disadvantages by granting members of the Priory leave to remove for safety when necessity arose and follow their rule where they could. Thomas Colyns, the last Prior, was a man of some practical determination, for seeing, and indeed personally feeling, the inconvenience of a quickly vanishing stipend, he used every means in his power, by memorialising Cardinal Wolsey and the Pope, to obtain license to hold benefices to the yearly value of £100, on behalf of the Convent. Both Bishops Veysey and Oldham put in force all their visitational thunderbolts to correct the irregularities and disorder which this excellent man of business had permitted in the discipline and devotion of his house. His memory, however, is perhaps redeemed by the care with which the books of the Priory were kept, if we may judge from the two now existing—a splendid Psalter still to be seen at the beautiful mansion of Lord Clifford, of Ugbrooke Park, near

Chudleigh, and a folio Latin MS. called the Tywardreth Obituary, belonging to Lord Arundel at Wardour Castle.

The Psalter is a volume of 300 folios, with many curious and well executed illuminations; the greater number are illustrative of the Messianic Songs of David, being representations of the Passion. The date is (circa) 1380: French and Latin alternately are used in the Psalms, pointing to the interchange between the Cornish House and the French. The other book may be thought by some of far greater interest, and is indeed one of those remarkable registers of the lives and deaths of the brethren of the religious house to which it belonged, and of its founders and patrons. The first part contains the obits of these good people, the former being designated *Professi*, the latter *Familiares*. Amongst these are many Norman names.

The second part contains the office for blessing the religious habit worn by every novice and his reception into the community. This was the ceremonial language employed:—

Prior: What desire ye?

Novice: To be mad broder.

Prior: Ys hit your wyl and your hertely desyre to be parte taker of all massis and prayers and almys dede done yn holy place or schall be done here after?

Novice: Ye.

Prior: Al so ys hit your wille to defende and to mantayne the righte of this holy plas to your power, where by God or Synt Andrew may be the pesabeler servyd by your worde and gode wille, as a trewe broder oghte to do.

Novice: Ye.

The third part is the collations, thirty-three homilies from the Fathers, read at the last light meal of the day.

The fourth comprises the Martyrology, generally called by

the name of Usuard. It is a Calendar of the Saints then and there recognised by the Church.

The fifth is the well-known Rule of St. Benedict

The obituary for September includes the following names :—

Sep. 3. Domina Helena de Cardinan.

Sep. 7. Obitus Johannis Treffry militis, bene memorie qui obiit VIII. id. et VII. die mens. Sept. M.D. cujus anime propicietur deus Amen.

Sep. 9. Willelmus Rex Anglorum (Conquestor) et Benedictus Abbas.

12. Deposicio Domini Gaufridi Abbatis SS. Sergii et Bacchi.

19. Dominus Andreas de Cardinan.

19. Deposicio Petri de Brolio, quondam Abbatis SS. S. & B.

26. Deposicio Domini Willielmi (Warelwast) Exon Epi. A.D. MCXXXVII.

To glance at the ancient church of Carantoc, how quaintly turns the wheel of fortune in this nineteenth century, when the land which, according to the Domesday Inquisitors, belonged to this saint and his canons designate—who held a mansion there called Langonoc—in the days of the Conqueror, after all the changes of owners through which it has passed, under the blessing of, it may be, two bishops, has now recovered all and more than its primitive popularity, and become the site of the rapidly increasing popular resort called Newquay. Possibly for this modern name, no less than for its then all uncompleted jetty, Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter, deserves some credit, for, with his usual liberality, he granted an indulgence in 1439 for the construction, repair, and maintenance "of the place commonly called a Keye situate on the shore of the sea at Tewen Blusty." Even as late as 1535 there were no less than nine prebendaries and four vicars choral under the pleasant rule of Dean James Jentle.

But not many of the monasteries founded up to the time of Canute can boast that after 400 years of absolute ruin, life and light, the sound of the hammer and the adze, and the voice of prayer and praise are again heard within their walls.

The Abbey of Buckfast, after many mysterious changes which are beyond the reach of responsible annals, settled down into a House of the Cistercian Order. Ethelwerd, son of William de Pomeroy, knew at least how the site of the old Abbey was in 1137 granted to a colony of Cistercian monks from Waverley, a daughter of St. Mary's at Savigny in Normandy; but, as not infrequently happens in the history of the Church, persons and places have not attained to notoriety or glory till they are proved guilty of a crime or the possession of a treasure. The latter was the case in 1215, when King John sent an order to the Abbots of Buckfastleigh and Ford to forward him without delay all the vessels, jewels, gold and silver the house had committed to their charge.

There are indeed not only one or two reasons which make the history of the House of Buckfast of special interest even at the present day to historians and fishermen. To the monastic houses a right of catching salmon was not easily to be surrendered by the well-fed canons of the Mother Church - no, not even if a resolute abbot insist on the grant.

In comparison with this doughty champion, William Slade (who, if we may believe Hoker, the Chamberlain, was born in Devon, brought up at Exon. and thence sent to Oxon. and became very well learned in Aristotle, to his own and others advantage) was a very inconsiderable person. He was of the inoffensive but no less substantially practical order, for, when he came back to his own county, he finished the house with fair buildings, and left the library richer by thirteen volumes —all of his own penning.

Considering that this was in the days of Bishop Stafford,

who dedicated the Chapel of St. Edmund King and Martyr, it is clear that up to the time of the Wars of the Roses there was no violent disturbance of its peace until, while Thomas Rogger was abbot—the neighbourhood being evidently in a disturbed state—in September, 1436, Bishop Lacey was called in to reconcile the church of St. Petroc at South Brent, which had been profaned by the barbarous murder of its vicar, John Hay. It is interesting to find that in so many of the service books, now and at an earlier period used in the churches of Devon and Cornwall, French was at least ordinarily met with as the alternative language with Latin. That this was more acceptable to the members of the convent seems an undoubted fact, inasmuch as Edmund Fychet, vicar of Brent, who made his will in 1427, and was buried in the Abbey church, left to the house over which his brother John presided in 1440 a book of divers sermons written in French and another small French book with short sermons at the end The subsequent fate of the abbey was extremely matter-of-fact, the last abbot, Gabriel Doune. pocketing his profits in the various leases he had discreetly granted (not at all too soon) for a period of sixty years of the tithes of the parish of Buckfastleigh and of Churchstow Rectory and Kingsbridge Chapelry, and all the other proceeds there of whatsoever value, as well as of the tithes of sheaf and hay at Brent, so that with the money obtained from these and the £120 pension he received from the Crown the prospect was more propitious for him than for many of his brethren in other parts of the diocese. He lived till 1553 to enjoy his gains. It would indeed be a remarkable omission if we failed to find the name of Sir Thomas Dennis, the omnivorous and ubiquitous, in connection with this abbey. The site was granted him by Henry VIII. The Abbot's town house, which was frequently leased by them, stood on the north side of the Close, and subsequently, after many alterations, became a heavy eighteenth century doll's house of the

most bare-faced order. Where Sir Thomas found something worth accepting, Sir William Petre was not likely to be far off; and when Philip and Mary came to the throne, Pope Paul IV. (1555) confirmed to him the Royal Grant of the Manor of Brent, Churchstow, and the parish church of Brent.

A century later Tristram Risden plaintively writes:—"The ruins may move beholders both to wonder and pity." A larger allowance of the former would be elicited from the famous antiquary if he could now see the industry and ingenuity of the little colony which has repeopled the ancient Abbey grounds, and awoke the inhabitants of the busy serge factory to realise that the invisible and supernatural verities which these good brethren represent were as necessary 300 years ago to the prosperity of the place as unanimity and co-operation are now found to be.

From Norman builders, early abbeys and their later ruin, we will now turn to the works of a Bishop of Exon whose excellence, if less prominently thrust before the public gaze in stone and cement, rises far higher in literature.

Bishop Robert Chichester, who came from the Deanery at Sarum, beyond claiming gratitude for his energy in obtaining confirmation of the possession of the See from Eugenius III. and pity for the blindness with which he was afflicted, occupied the See until 1155, and lies in a fair tomb on the south side of the high altar of his Cathedral, with no greater fame.

His successor, Robert Warelwast, we have noticed in connection with his uncle. But in her next Bishop, the ancient city boasts of a man whose native genius and quick discernment raised monuments more lasting than bronze or granite in the volumes he wrote, and the generous patronage with which he pushed forward his own poor townsman—Baldwin—in a few years to become Archbishop of Canterbury, notwithstanding the utterly irrepressible resistance of the monks of Christ Church to his appointment by the Suffragans of the Province.

Bartholomew, surnamed Iscanus, possibly brought up at Ford Abbey, certainly found the Archdeaconry of Exeter the first rung in the ladder by which he reached to the highest position of honor and respect with his king, Henry II., the Pope, and his fellow citizens, no less than to an eminent eulogium from Bale and all authorities in the literature of that heavy age. Bartholomew was not a Bœotian, but his offices as a diplomatist were perhaps more deserving of admiration when, after the death of Archbishop Becket, he went as a member of the deputation sent to the Pope for bringing about a reconciliation between the temporal powers of the English Crown and the Spiritual at Rome, than when, with doors fast locked for fear of the King, he and the Bishops took counsel with their Metropolitan as to what answer they should recommend him to give the King as to his rendering no account of vacant temporalities, though, to be sure, the principle which he advocated was one of self-protection. If he did advise the Archbishop that it was "more holy and convenient for one head to run into some post of danger than that the whole Church of England be exposed to inconvenience inevitable," he must have been startled at the literal accomplishment of his words when the Primate lay smitten through the head on the altar steps at Canterbury. Possibly he was a candidate for the same equivocal honors as the Pope heaped on Baldwin his favourite *protégé* in this caustic eulogy :— "A most enthusiastic monk, hot abbot, lukewarm bishop, and easy going archbishop." Whether this very fair contest, as Leland calls the conceivable literary emulation between Baldwin and Bartholomew, was anything more than a Babel of words we know not; but they were, we must believe, of a far more profitable nature than the erudite performances of the "Iscan." Affection suggested that every work, whether on the death of his enemy, St. Thomas of Canterbury, or the much more complicated subjects of Predestination, Freewill,

and Penance, not to mention divers letters, dialogues to the Jews, and sermons, should be dedicated to his fellow-townsmen. That there was also some scope for generosity of sentiment in the city of his birth is undoubted, and to relieve the necessities of the lepers he granted them (1163) a toll of all corn and bread sold in the markets and other privileges. The life of his successor, John (consecrated 1186), called the Chanter, because he had occupied the stall of that dignity for thirty years before he was entitled to sit in the Episcopal throne nearest the High Altar, is as little known and as obscure as the place of his burial in the extreme south-east corner of the south transeptal tower, enclosed formerly in a chapel dedicated to the Archangel Michael, if the Cathedral Body had some cause for gratefully remembering his name, when they received the tithes of Ashburton and Egloscrue, *i.e.*, St. Issey in Cornwall, which he had appropriated to them. This episcopacy of only five brief years separated the humble scholar-Bishop of Exeter from the noble Prelate, Henry Marshall, brother of the Earl of Pembroke, whose riper views as to the succession of Richard may have discounted the rebellious tendencies he held in February, 1194, and enabled him to take part in the coronation of the King in April of the same year; and if by this act of allegiance he secured for his church the tithe of tin in Devon and Cornwall, his influence with his sovereign was not entirely misapplied.

Nor was his own official position misused in the measures he took for the completion of his Cathedral Church on the plans of his predecessor, the Norman Warelwast, some, as Hoker, asserting that he finished the building, extending it eastward by adding four more bays with aisles, destroying the ancient apsidal termination of the choir, and rebuilding the Lady, Gabriel, and Magdalen Chapels. For the Transition period had now begun, and in all probability by the year of his death, 1206, the Cathedral Church presented its western front very much as we see in the ancient seal of this date.

To the College of Vicars Choral, as a corporation now still existing in unbroken continuity nearly 700 years, no act of this discreet prelate appears more seemly and consistent than his appropriation of the church and manor of St. Swithin in Woodbury, a town about seven miles from Exeter, to their funds. To the lover of that peculiarly delicate Transition style of architecture, nothing in association with his name is more full of grace than his tomb in grey Purbeck marble on the north side of the choir, exquisite in its treatment of the primitive rites of the Church. His seal, of which two examples remain, is distinguished by its severe simplicity.

Henricus Dei Gratia Exoniensis Epus. commences in the centre of the oval in the best preserved; on the reverse, *Presul Exonie Henricus.*

If, as we learn from the Register of de Grandisson, Henry the First of Exeter was the first to enforce the payment of a halfpenny from every householder in the diocese towards the building of the Mother Church, the interest of all within the limits of the two counties in its original construction and enlargement is greatly enhanced. If it be true that Bishop Marshall did carry out the nave far towards the seven bays (which are now its peculiar *chef d'œuvre*) and complete the north porch and other accessory portions of the church, it will not be so surprising to be informed that afterwards for nearly ninety years the fabric was left alone. Be it so, the work done and the progress made was neither more nor less valuable because moral construction and statutory discipline were substituted for the more rising and visible accumulation of stone from the quarries of Pocombe and Heavitree.

It is worthy of notice that the oldest foundations of the Cathedral Church are of the red conglomerate, of which material the keep and walls of "the Red mount" castle in the height of Northernhay were built.

The later Transition part is, as we learn from the Fabric

Rolls, of varied description. From the end of the thirteenth and all through the first four decades of the fourteenth century, barges by sea and carts by land brought contributions of Purbeck from Portland, of oolite from Caen, of sandstone from the quarries of Beer, Branscombe, and Salcombe Regis, and of marble from Corf for the pillars of the nave to a very large amount; nor were Whipton and Silverton exempt, the product of the latter specially going to the gutters and west porch.

These details of structure speak of an age when the principles of national government were more peaceably in force than in the days when, after waiting for the signing of Magna Charta, the next bishop was confirmed and consecrated to the See of Exeter. This was a foreigner, Simon of Apulia, one of the very few who found their way into the highest offices in this diocese of Leofric. As to what he thought, did, or said, ignorance prevails so far as concerns the diocese over which he was called upon to preside, even though at York he may have executed his office as dean with much advantage to himself and the chapter. Consecrated, in any case, in the first week in October, 1214, he at least devoted some attention to the parochial system of the Deanery of Christianity in Exeter when he was not engaged in dealing with a king both a treacherous glutton and an unscrupulous coward.

If he did verily fix the boundaries of the numerous churches which had sprung up round the Relics of the High Altar of SS. Mary and Peter, his ideas of parochial apportionment, however suitable, as no doubt they were, for that period, are singularly unlucky now, none of the very ancient curacies under the Dean and Chapter within the limits of the city furnishing any adequate stipend for the parish priest.

If to his episcopacy the Church owes nothing more than this division and one of the most beautiful of sepulchral effigies, there is certainly not much to show for eighteen years of office.

The deplorable loss of the Episcopal Registers throws the student of history back on the few solid memorials that remain in the Mother Church, and of these some are essentially personal. A perambulation of the aisles of the Cathedral Church brings us repeatedly face to face with the monstrous obstructions which the æsthetic taste of the seventeenth century erected as worthy or suggestive of the wealth and wisdom of those eminent nonentities whom they thus delighted to honor; and if there be any ever so remote a connection between art and doctrine, it needs no more vivid illustration than these incongruous masses of cumbersome masonry, two specimens meeting the eye with a most obtrusive inelegance at the very entrance of the Lady Chapel, that on the right magnifying the commercial enthusiasm of a certain James Raillard, whose conversation, we are told pathetically, was nevertheless in heaven; that on the opposite side, it may be with greater reason, singing the praises of one Bidgood, a physician in the city of high repute.

When, however, we enter the chapel itself our attention is at once drawn to the canopied tombs on either side, restored with an almost prodigal display of colour to a feeble representation of their original delicacy, but defying, not only the lavish decorations of the nineteenth century dauber, but all the reckless mutilations of the seventeenth, and the vulgar scribblings of the too ubiquitous Victorian tourist, all too weak desecrations though they be to spoil the lesson contained in their pedantic legends.

That Edmund of Exeter was a well-read canonist, an eloquent orator, and of good family, it was thought desirable in those days to recount in a number of jingling Latin rhymes, in which, so as to introduce the compliment to his eloquence of speech in the word "facundus," it became indispensable to add that he was not only happy, but even "clean." While four lines sufficed to do honor to Bishop Stafford—though he was

one of the most accomplished and noble of the great prelates who have worn the mitre at Exeter—no less than a dozen were required to do justice to Walter the Good, for which there is, in truth, some small excuse, inasmuch as they are a rhyming epitome of the salient and practical points in his life; and at the trivial cost of dragging in—to testify to the public appreciation of the Exeter people—the word "turbe" to rhyme with "urbe," evidence is afforded that, even in those days of overbearing prelacy, the *vox populi* counted for something.

In each instance the attraction consists in the excellent example given in these recumbent effigies of the real spirit of the age in which these typical ecclesiastics lived and wrought, while we are led gradually from century to century in gazing at their tombs to realize the falsity of the theory that rank idolatry and imbecile superstition were the objects and results of medieval ignorance.

In a later chapter it will be clearly seen how favourably the energies and abilities of the bishops of the pre-Reformation period will compare with those of the most scholarly and active of the Caroline, or of even contemporary divines.

Nothing appeals more gracefully and at the same time forcibly to the thoughtful mind than the three other monumental slabs which lie at your feet beneath those fair canopies on the south side of the chapel, or the rough slab with the finely foliated cross and simple but alliterative legend surrounding it which marks the grave of Peter Quivil, perhaps the most industrious and daring of all the chief pastors of this diocese. Simplicity and solemnity combine to make this great dark stone, trod by careless feet, an altogether incomparable memorial to the man to whose strength of will we owe the design of the Cathedral Church, but whose fair name seems almost injured by the tenderly resentful legend carved thereon, defying as it does a neat translation:—

Petra tegit petrum: nihil officiat sibi tetrum.

The best apology for the words is:—

Peter's covered by this stone:
Nought of evil hath he done.

The recumbent figures beneath the canopies deserve a fuller note. If the irrefutable tradition be worth anything, the present Chapel of our Lady has, since the original foundation of King Athelstan, occupied for nearly nine hundred years its present position, and therefore there seems special reason for the earlier bishops of the See finding their last resting-place within its walls. The canopies on the north side, now filled up with the clumsy, if lifelike, figures of Judge Dodderidge and his lady, were of old tenanted by their proper episcopal owners; but in an obsequious age whatever remained of their possibly mutilated beauty yielded to the urgent claims of lately deceased heroes, and bishop gave way to judge, and the iniquitous incongruity of an illustrious Dorothy being substituted for a learned canonist or possibly Lord High Chancellor was cheerfully perpetrated. Thanks and praise are thus due to the unknown hand which affectionately walled up the two recesses on the south, and so left the *eikon* of Bishop Bartholomew in its first sincerity, rough as it came from the sculptor's chisel: little relief, evidently absolute faithfulness to the living original, fierce moustaches, jagged beard, depressed mitre.

The accession of William Brewer to the See opens a page of Cathedral history which does not immediately need attention, and yet was very important for two reasons—first, because it set the Cathedral management on a new and more useful basis; and secondly, because it created an interest in an utterly unforseen manner in the customs and tenure of many of the rural parishes of the diocese.

Of the pedigree of William Brewer, noble and ancient though it be, it profits us little to know much; but as Precentor for some years, he knew more of the ins and outs of

the Cathedral finances and economies than any man. Doubt may arise as to whether piety or common sense suggested to him the advisability of appointing a head *sub episcopo* for his church of twenty-four canons and twenty-four vicars (all in priests' orders, be it observed), but resist he could not the influence of the age which in so many great administrators did more for the disciplinary than for the material adequacy of cathedral churches.

Cardinal Langton, by whom he was consecrated in 1224 at Canterbury, was a powerful advocate for the introduction of the foreign *régime*, and had little difficulty in persuading Bishop Brewer to surrender his right as president of the Canonical Chapter, and appoint a dean, reserving to himself the rights of visitor. Serlo, the Precentor, was accordingly appointed dean 25th November, 1225, and the churches of Braunton, Bishop's Tawton, Landkey, and Swimbridge were appropriated to the Decanal Stall, Colaton Raleigh, where on the tithe barn may now be seen the Dean's coat-of-arms carved, being also added, so that he might have an interest nearer home. The Dean, as first and foremost member, took always precedence of canons in chapter and choir; to him belonged the cure of souls within the precincts of the Close, and archidiaconal jurisdiction as well as probate of wills. In the Court of the Dean and Chapter, usually held in the Holy Ghost Chapel within the cloisters, he was judge, or appointed his deputy. Due reverence or obeisance was always made to him by all the members of the church on entering the choir, and as Ordinary of the Cathedral he had right to alter the offices of the church as he pleased. The appointment of the secondaries or clerks who sat and sang on the lower form was his privilege, and in correcting the misdemeanours of the lay vicars and subordinate chaplains his sentence was final and his authority paramount. Differences of opinion, however, constantly arose on all these matters, and, as will be seen, a

feeling of hardly concealed impatience existed through all generations of canons at the assumption of supremacy which later deans almost invariably adopted. Grants of special honor were freely made to the dean at certain times—such as the use of a great silver dish richly enamelled and part gilt, probably for some public feast or reception. Canons, however, could at times injure the decanal majesty, but they fared better in one way if heavily matched in another. Canon Pyl had grossly insulted Dean Tregrisiow, but on apologising he was forgiven In future any canon convicted of such ill-behaviour should glaze at his own cost one of the windows in the newly-erected cloisters.* The Dean, as head, installed all the newly-elected canons; he inducted and gave them corporal possession of their stalls, made them sit down in the stall assigned to them both in the choir and Chapter House, gave them the kiss of peace and the canonical bread, by which act and gifts they took corporal possession as of a freehold.

There was always one way of harassing the President, and it was not unfrequently used: forbidding him to have a copy of the statutes or search the muniments without restriction. At the end of the fourteenth century Dean Tregrisiow found this most vexatious, though his application for a place of sepulture in front of the great west door in the nave was readily granted.

On some occasions the Dean was deputed to examine candidates for vicarages in the Cathedral, and so as Canon Rigge had forfeited his term the Chapter nominated T. Hope a deacon, and when the Dean had examined him he was ordered to sing the Gospel at High Mass but the word *cantaret* is scratched through with a pen, and *legeret*

* Shortly after this, A.D. 1390, R. Skynner, an annivellar or chantry priest, who was clerk of the works, in consideration of being allowed to bury his body in the cloisters, promised to glaze another window there, the last and nearest to the door on the west side.

substituted. The next day he was admitted, inasmuch as he was a good hand at playing the organ. At this period it seems that the vicars overtaxed the hospitable intentions of the Dean, for he declared somewhat bitterly that he only invited his own vicar out of courtesy, and that he could not claim it, and no more vicars would he ever again entertain.

In his absence, the right of installation was sometimes definitely given to another dignitary, as was the case with T. Hendeman, who was admitted canon by Rob. Rigge, the well-known Chancellor. The same power was granted on another occasion in 1488 to Precentor Hyckelyn for the admission of two priests for Bishop Stafford's chantry. If, as sometimes happens, doubts arose as to a canon elect being really in priest's orders, the Dean was called upon to examine his letters of orders with another canon, and see if they were literally faithful, *i.e.*, genuine and sufficient.

As time goes on, and we come to the ticklish period of internal suspicion and external pressure, the original statutory obligations and privileges of each office were considerably modified. There was a tendency to evade responsibility and escape penalties no less than duties. The days of acquisition were becoming days of spoliation. If a man like Precentor Sylke, whose exquisite chantry stands in the North Transept Tower, had left a certain carpet of green and white roses with fleurs-de-luce to be laid before the High Altar on solemn days, on condition that his name was inserted in the Bidding Prayer of the Church, the tendency was rather to cut short than lengthen that excellent preface, and his executor protested the covenant was not fulfilled.

The Dean might indeed well rule over his own house, now that the Bishop, from his duties as courtier or ambassador, was constantly absent from his See. But the spiritual needs of the diocese needed the watchful care of a specially-appointed official, whose duty should be to prescribe due penance and

hear the confessions of penitents. Once a year the Sub-dean in his office used to go round the diocese in person; but when the population increased, as it had done by the fifteenth century, clergy were appointed in each archdeaconry to fulfil the duties of the Subdean, whose stall was endowed with the lucrative benefice of Egloshayle, in the first instance, when Bisimano held that office.

It is doubtful how far the duties of the Precentor, the next dignitary in order of precedence capitular, were in any sense diocesan. The difficulties of locomotion, the primitive nature of all musical elaboration, and the lack of all but the most primitive of musical instruments, must have confined the responsibilities of the cantor or chanter to extremely small limits. The existence of organs seems something more than apocryphal, but that any harmonized service was found in the largest church of the diocese is impossible. A hint of such instrumental performances is, however, unmistakeable in the representations of orchestral accompaniment which, with somewhat incongruous accessories, meet the uplifted gaze of the admiring worshipper on the corbels of the nave, where a figure appears playing a fiddle with another figure turning as it were a somersault over his head. The Minstrels' Gallery was not built till the end of the fourteenth century, for the honorable reception of the Black Prince.

The statutable obligations of the third person or dignitary were clearly intended to be of wider range. The Chancellor's duty was to deliver lectures within the city on the then indispensable Canon Law and all kindred subjects, encouraging *belles lettres* throughout the diocese, and as protector of rights of property and privilege. The name of Henry de Bracton immediately occurs as the best known representative of that dignified position, but we know little indeed of his actual performance of the office In the mediæval age the Church was the Eldorado of preferment, in which every man who

could boast of good birth and interest might hope to win fortune.

Henry of Warwick, who (says the Martyrology of Exeter) was first Chancellor, could not have occupied the same position as his successors in the Cathedral, because if the date of his death—April, 1227—be accurate, the Canons were not yet under the new system which Bishop Brewer enforced twenty years later. If, as seems probable, the precentor was president until a dean was made *caput capituli*, the chancellor would rank second in order.

Richard Blondy was apparently chancellor eighteen years before he occupied the episcopal throne, so that his tenure of the office had brought him fully acquainted with the routine and economy of Cathedral administration and made him an efficient bishop, but of the three immediately consequent chancellors we know but little. Walter Lodeswell, Henry de Wengham, and Robert de Tyfford (as to whose appointment there is no doubt), bring up the history of the Cancellariate to 1259, and in 1264 (May 18th) a name of distinction shines first through the darkness and shews us the way to authentic records of a Chancellor whose works and reputation reflect glory on the Church of Exeter. Canon law was of vital importance to every Englishman who aimed at Papal patronage. The king's judges also were all ecclesiastics, intimately acquainted with the prizes and privileges of the Church. Matthew of Paris was just dead. It was a great period for lawyers and historians. Henry II. gave the manor of Thorverton, which lies between Exeter and Tiverton, to the monks of Marmoustier. They conveyed it to Sir John Wiger, subject to a charge of £6 a year to celebrate Bratton's mass at Exeter, at the altar of St. Mary, under the rood loft. In 1276 Sir John Wiger conveyed the manor to the Dean and Chapter to provide masses at this altar for the souls of the King, Henry of Bracton, and the grantor. The King escheated the

manor, but on the death of Sir John the Church recovered it. Of the place of Bracton's birth there may be some doubt whether it may be assigned to Bratton Fleming or no; but that his bones lie in the Cathedral Church there is no question, and as to his reputation and ability as a justice itinerant there is none. His judicial rectitude is above suspicion at a time when, if we may believe Matthew of Paris as to Robert Lexington and Henry of Bath, the moral conduct of the Bench was not above suspicion.

His familiarity with his native county was like that of a bishop. His note-book no less than the Assize Rolls shew how his duties brought him in contact on the Bench at Exeter with the Raleighs and Traceys, and other eminent men at all the principal county towns.

William Raleigh had been Treasurer of Exeter Cathedral. Why should not Henry de Bracton become Archdeacon of Barum and Chancellor of the same?

From the Patent Rolls we gather that from 1248 he was constantly on assize for nearly twenty years through Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, Devon, and Cornwall; but that he played any important part in the great events of national history, there is no reason to think. It is very probable that his influence was felt by Quivil, who, acknowledging the important responsibilities of the office of Chancellor and the necessity of continual residence, appropriated to the third stall Stoke Gabriel and Newlin.

The office which required less learning, but more tact, was most assuredly that of Treasurer, who, from occupying the terminal stall on the Cantor's side, was *vis-à-vis* to the Bishop, whose eye was as undoubtedly upon him (as was that of every king that sat on the throne of England) for the wealth of the Church.

In fact, every Cathedral Chapter constituted a Board of Bank Directors, on which the monarch for the time being

drew by his sign manual for the cash or jewels he needed either for his own private purposes or some more public expenditure. Quite apart from the services rendered by the Chapter as quasi-tenants of the Crown, which compelled them to send so many fighting men from the Church and each of their manors, the sums of money with which they subsidised successive monarchs were not trifling.

The responsibilities of this office were not slight, and when any variance arose his keys were taken from him and his share of offerings curtailed. A curious demand was made on the part of Treasurer Broke, in 1383, when he asked for leave to go up on the triforium outside and inside the church, so as to guard the precious jewels and vessels from robbers, and desired also a key to the door near the altar of St. John the Evangelist, so that he might go up on the leads and air the vestments in the sun.

In the days of Treasurer Hals feeling ran very high, and frequent lawsuits resulted in pitched battles and fracas between him and the officers of the Cathedral, which compelled the Chapter to assure them that in the performance of their duties, if they were hindered by Hals, they should have their protection.

Possibly, in the later days of the dissolution, there was a disposition to carelessness in matters of detail. Thus it was that in 1528 Halnetheus Arscott disapproved of the negligence of the vergers at the celebration of the mass of Moore, late Treasurer, and appealed to the Chapter that they ought to put out the copes for the rulers of the choir at that mass as they do at all the chief obits.

Until quite modern times there was a vestige of the privileges of this office nominally retained, for the Treasurer not only supplied the candles, but had the ends and drippings as his perquisite, and also power to elect a verger.

Bishop Henry (Phillpotts) was the last prelate who held this

dignity with the See ; but judging by the epitaph on the stall of the north ambulatory of the choir, Hall was the most valued who ever held the office of Treasurer.—

Hic situs est
Robertus Hall,
Josephi Cl: Epi: filius Primogenitus
S.S. Theologiæ Doctor Facundus
Hujus Ecclesiæ Vivus Thesaurarius
Mortuus Thesaurus.
Vivus, Mortuus
Residentiarius
Obit 29° Die Mon 1667
Ætatis Suæ 61.

A comparatively fruitless and effete episcopacy during the twelve years which cover the rule of Richard Blondy, prepared the way for a period of unexampled energy and re-edification. From 1227 to 1257 he was Bishop of his native town, and no higher honor could be paid to any genuine Churchman, inasmuch as the architectural glories of St. Peter's Church are, it must not be forgotten, the works of aliens and strangers in the first place, though it was left for the first of his successors (both Exonians by birth) to unite all the reformation of the diocesan as well as of the Cathedral clergy, and for the second to design and commence a work which has left in its developed accomplishment a church as perfect in proportion as in decorative elegance.

But out of the darkness which then shrouded the history of the more distant parts of Britain shine not merely the names or memories of Saints, but, happily for the Church of Christ in England, documentary proofs of the wholesome influence exercised by her clergy and their teaching. There are three books of this nature if the fourth, the Domesday Book, is of a fiscal rather than of a religious interest. The MS. which must certainly rank second in value among the famous books of ancient times which have been preserved in Exeter,

is the Missal of Leofric, the first Bishop, for though it is not now actually kept in the Cathedral Church, it did rest there many hundred years until its removal to Oxford. In the Bodleian it no doubt is in a certain sense more accessible to the few scholars who have any interest in such books, but at Exeter it certainly should be now reserved as of old, because there it was originally used and there it would be most assuredly more generally visible to the large number of intelligent and inquisitive scholars of all nations whose travels are chiefly undertaken with a view to seeing the ancient architectural beauties of England and who invariably with an alert discretion identify certain places with certain persons, books, or facts. It is useless, however, to give posthumous blame to the generous generation of Cathedral authorities who, knowing as little of liturgical as of architectural gems, handed over this remarkable manuscript with many others of less value to Dr. Bodley in 1607, and thanks are due to the erudite editor of the Missal for enabling the world at large to read and study its contents.

Considering that only three known Missals exist which have been certainly in use in the English Church before the Conquest, the Cathedral Church of Exeter may well be thankful to have at least the reputation of one, and that, perhaps, the most singular.

Leofric the composer or at least the author of its local adaptations and arrangements was himself brought up abroad, if there was no French blood in his veins, and probably met with his Royal patron at the Court of his cousin Robert, Duke of Normandy. On the accession of the Confessor to the throne of England, Leofric was shortly made Chaplain and Chancellor, and on the death of Bishop Living, of Crediton, where the two Sees of Devon and Cornwall had been recently combined, he succeeded to this See, which was at his own request and with Papal sanction, either for reasons of personal ambition or personal safety, transferred to the strong tower of Exeter.

Happily there is no doubt as to the energetic measures which Leofric took to make his new Cathedral in all respects worthy of the honour thus conferred upon him, while his generosity added practical proofs to his professions of responsibility.

The list of his gifts of furniture and books terminates with the usual request that worshippers in the Cathedral will pray for his soul, and the imprecation of a curse on those who should remove them.

That the Church of England notwithstanding her association with the Church of Rome from early times had also a large independence both in the election of Bishops and the canonization of her saints cannot be too frequently insisted on, and, therefore, the policy of all foreigners, of whom so many were in early times thrust into English Sees, was to eliminate as far as possible all vestiges of this independence and insinuate and enforce the customs and rites which had emphatic Italian approval. Leofric therefore as a matter of course brought with him and introduced for use a service book of foreign use —as for instance the Psalter – which was arranged according to the Roman manner of chanting, and, before all, this identical Mass book. It is not an easy task to describe it in simple terms, as it is very complex in character and of different dates, the greater part (which is a copy of the Sacramentary of Gregory) having been written in Lotharingia in the early part of the tenth century, the kalendar and Pascal Tables written in England about 970, and the remaining portion, consisting of Masses, Manumissions, historical statements, and other miscellaneous entries, partly in the tenth and partly in the next century. Thus one of the "II fulle messe bec," which he presented to the Cathedral clergy for their constant use, has one very curious mark of his piety and skill as a liturgist. It is the Mass or Communion service proper or peculiar to a Bishop, and a very beautiful and appropriate compilation it is. The Collect, called the Post Communion, runs thus:—"O

Lord God, by participation in Thy Saving Victim refreshed, I humbly implore Thy mercy that Thou wilt not suffer me thy servant whom Thou hast been pleased to set over the Holy Church of Exeter nor thy lambs whom Thou hast specially chosen to Thyself out of the Universal Church to be nourished by me, to be overcome by all adversities : at the intercession of thy Blessed Apostle S. Peter, grant us, O Lord, the invincible strength of the True Faith and bring us to the inheritance of the heavenly Fatherland, Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." As might be expected in so early a manuscript, musical notes are rarely met with, and indeed the few there are were probably not inserted till some years after. The text is by no means free from mistakes due to carelessness and haste, but an error is easily excusable in a scribe of such a dark period where a passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews is entitled " A Lesson to the Romans."

With respect to illumination, which to many bibliophiles (a genus of students keen as to such trifles) is a matter of high interest, the greatest care has been devoted to the ordinary preface and the opening words of the canon, from *Vere dignum* to *cultoribus ;* this is richly ornamented in the Franco-Saxon style. The first two pages have a broad golden framework, and in other parts of the book gold, vermilion, black and green are used with varied prodigality and parsimony, festivals and solemn days being honoured with special wealth of detail and colour, though the great day of the Annunciation is entirely devoid of such expressions of honour. No less than three hundred and eighteen different masses are found in this Missal, of which only twenty are from an unknown source.

Some remarkable clues as to the origin and first use of the Missal deserve mention, such as the allusion to certain diptychs or tablets in the church on which the names of the orthodox Catholic dead whose bodies lay in the cemetery or church

itself were inscribed, probably in the diocese of Arras or Cambray. The book was actually copied in and for a Benedictine monastery, as a mass proper for monks, which was originally written in a French hand, and has been altered and appropriated by a later English scribe, who inserts in the Collect :—"et sancto Benedicto confessore tuo," and by writing another Collect in the margin.

The numerous and triple Episcopal Benedictions which are not found in the Roman liturgies are also peculiar to the MS., and the alteration in the Collect for "kings and all who are in authority," is very significant, where we find written over the erasure of the original phrase, "and for our Archbishop and our King," meaning probably the Archbishop of Canterbury and Edward the Confessor. That the calendar was added at a subsequent time to the Sacramentary is clear both from the different writing and the fact that there are seven masses in the latter for festivals not in the former, and one hundred and forty-seven saints noted in the calendar with no corresponding mass in the Sacramentary.

Space will not allow of a full description of the elaborate allegorical figures found in this part of the manuscript. Briefly, we find the hand of the Lord extended from the clouds, giving the various Paschal dates ; then our Lord as the Prince of Life, crowned, with the cross for sceptre, clad in red and blue drapery ; a ghastly representation of Death, or of Satan, horned, with dragons for hair, a shaggy girdle, and spur-like extremities. The Anglican or Celtic saints, twenty in number, are supplemented by the addition of some thirty other names inserted at a later period, of which five are distinctly Celtic and four Anglo-Saxon. Amongst the later obits are the predecessors of Leofric at Crediton and also a certain priest called Godo, whom we know from Domesday Book for the tenant of Bickington in the hundred of Teignbridge. The antiquity of the calendar is also proved by the

existence of the festival of the conception of S. John, which is only found in Anglo-Saxon calendars. The latest saint in the original is Wynfrith, that is, S. Boniface, who died about 755. But perhaps the most interesting portion of the manuscript yet remains to be described, consisting as it does of octavo leaves of fine white vellum written on by an English hand for the most part; of these a few are palimpsests. We find at least one negative proof that the Roman rites were not in use in the Church for which this part of the Missal was written, in one of the very few ceremonial rubrics here given, namely, that at eleven a.m. on Good Friday seven lamps are to be lit, or two altar candles, according to the Roman use. It is to be noted also that there are only two short references to the colour of vestments: black chasubles are to be worn on Maundy Thursday, and Lenten garments—that is, dark coloured chasubles—on Good Friday. The value attached to symbolical acts is emphasised by the order to remove stealthily a linen cloth from under the Gospel Book on the altar during the reading of the Passion on Good Friday, and another order to rend asunder two linen cloths placed on the altar for that purpose, at the words in the Gospel, "They parted His garments."

The altar, however, of the great churches of the realm was the place of transactions not distinctly religious, but eminently practical, based on the highest principles of Christian faith revived in Britain. The slavery of which the Apostle Paul speaks as a conceivable drawback in the Christian Church became the opportunity of a splendid redemption amongst the converted peoples of Wessex.

While the literature of *Seculum nigrum*, as the tenth century was called by eminent writers, is of very high interest and value to the philologist, the very incidental notes found on sheets of vellum which had been sewn up into these singular books throw an intense light upon the social and religious customs of the times.

In both the Bodmin Gospels and the Anglo-Saxon manuscript we find the manumission of slaves recorded with much precision. They are sufficiently rare as contemporary entries to be quoted in full. In the margin and vacant spaces these transactions, it is said, took place at the altar of St. Petroc, and the obvious conclusion is that this was within the church of that saint, the monastery at Bodmin.

At a time when gifts of land for pious purposes were not so common as in later centuries, the Church enforcing on the wealthier laymen the meritorious nature of such acts of mercy, registered them as often as they occurred in the most precious of their Sacred Books as a lasting memorial The minutes of these proceedings disclose the names of no less than five of the great Saxon monarchs as setting their slaves free in this solemn way, and with these were present as officiant priests at various times no less than four Cornish bishops—Æthelgeard, Cemoere, Wulsi, and Burhwold.

Let us take the earliest instance, which carries us back to the first half of the tenth century.

"Wuenumon and her offspring,* Mornith her sister and her offspring, and Wurgustel and his offspring, were freed here in the town, for King Eadryde and for Bishop Æthel(geard ?), on the witness of the brotherhood that here are in the town."

Now from the condition of the MS. it is doubtful who was the Bishop referred to, but in the next we come upon two who certainly lived in the time of King Eadgar. Comoere and Wulsie (who, indeed, appears eight times in the list) were their names, and with very unimportant variations they are found as witnesses to the next manumissions at Bodmin.

"This is the name of the man whom Osferth freed, for the soul of King Eadgar, Gurheter, upon the altar of S. Petrock, before these witnesses, Comoere, bishop; Augustinus, reader; Byrhsie, priest."

* The Saxon words are "hire team."

Of Wulfsie, or Wulfsyge, we give two entries.

"Wulfsie, bishop, freed Ædoc, daughter of Catgustil, for his soul and for Eadgar's the King's, upon the altar of S. Petrock."

And again :—

"This is the name of the Norman, Wencenethel, whom Duke Ordgard freed for his soul upon the altar of S. Petrock before these witnesses :—Wulfsyge, bishop ; Leumarh, priest ; Morhaitho, deacon."

The incidental mention of this Ordgar is a most singular corroboration of the old legendary history of the West. Ordgar was the Ealdorman or Duke of Devonshire, founder of Tavistock Abbey, father of the giant Ordulph. How he became father-in-law of the King the following story shows.

The beauty of fair Aelfrytha was widely talked of and came to the ears of King Eadgar who instantly determined to marry her, and for that purpose sent Æthelwold, "the most glorious Duke of the East Angles," to treat for her hand.

Geoffrey Gaimar, soon after the Conquest, graphically describes the circumstances. Ordgar, he declares, was of great renown from Exeter to Frome, and his only child—the word (only) probably being used in the same sense as the word *unicus* in the Te Deum—Ælfrytha, of surpassing beauty, was the solace of his old age. King Eadgar, disposing of his just scruples as to disparity of birth and station, confides in his very dear Edilwolt and commissions him to go and see this fair lady and discover if her beauty was equal to common report.

Edilwolt frere—dit li rei
Is te direi de mon secrei,
Io aim Estrueth, la fille Orgar,
A tote gent l'ai oi si loer,
Et de bealte si preiser,
Faire en voldreie ma mulhear,
Si tel estait, et jol sense
Et de sa bealte a sur fusse,

Pur, co ti pri, va la veer :
Ko ken dirras, tendrai pur vair,
Jo te crei mult, fai mun afaire,
Ne sejuner, mes tost repaire.

When the faithful ambassador arrives at the mansion of Ordgar in Devon, he finds the King's expectations not deceived, but fascinated by her charms resolves to report unfavourably and make her his own by stratagem.

After three years he re-appears before the King at a great council of the nation and describes her as only fit for a man of his own insubordinate station, and by the assistance of the other great men of the county obtains leave to marry her. The King presents him with a ring, he swears fealty, and the marriage is consummated. Not long afterwards King Eadgar again hears of her extraordinary beauty and his suspicion being excited he goes into Damnonia on a hunting excursion and after the chase repairs at night to the mansion where Ælfrytha lives. There amongst a bevy of lovely women he singles out Ælfrytha and after a splendid banquet, when the cups flow freely, retires for the night only to think of her charms and resolve on accomplishing his original purpose. Going to Salisbury, he summons a Royal Court, and amongst the great barons comes "Dom Edelwold" whom he immediately sends to York on public business. In a short time news arrives of his sudden death, some saying that he fell at Whorwell, in Hampshire; others at Harewood, in the forest of Warewelle, in Cornwall, where the King slew him with his own hand. Nor if we may believe some historians was her name afterwards clear from worse reproach of bloodshed. Married to the King, she became, after his death, jealous of the crown being given to her stepson Eadward, and when he had reigned but three years, compassed his death in the most treacherous manner. As mounted on his steed he partook at the door of a proffered refreshment, by an unknown hand he was stabbed to the heart, and her own feeble offspring Æthelred came to the throne.

Whether or no Ordgar was buried at Exeter, his manumission of Wencenethel must have taken place between 900-971, and Wulfsies of Ædoc, about the same time.

Then we obtain another and one of the most tangible clues to the history of the Cornish See in the manumission of a slave called Ælfgyth.

"Afterwards came Duke Æthælwærd to the monastery of S. Petrock and freed her for his soul, upon the altar of S. Petrock before these witnesses:—Burnwold, bishop; Germanus, abbot; Tittheid, priest; with many others."

The first part of this transaction was apparently gone through at Lipsceryt, that is Liskeard, where we find present also the Countess Æthælflæd, who freed her handmaid herself in a most significant manner, even as the words say: "super cymbolum Sancti Petroci." Whether this meant the bell of the Church, or a banner or any other convenient church ornament seems uncertain, but at later periods such oaths were frequently taken on books and kalendars.

Then again:—

"This is the name of the man, Iliuth, with his offspring, whom King Æthelred freed upon the altar of S. Petrock before these witnesses:—Æthelwerd, Duke: witness; Osulf, provost, witness and many others."

This Æthelwerd was one of the early Dukes of Cornwall. He is described as duke of the Western provinces. If so he was the same as Æthælward, the labor-man, who was sent with Bishop Ælfeah to buy off the Danish marauders, which the Danish King agreed to by a covenant at Andover in 994.

Twenty-six years passed and his fortunes were shattered. Of his offence we know nothing, but with Eadwig, the king of the churls, a small landowner, he was outlawed by the Saxon Parliament, thus most probably paying dearly for his opposition to King Canute and his devotion to politics. After 1018 his name vanishes from all charters, and he may have finished his days in exile.

The interest of these manumissions is enhanced by the discovery of other and additional entries of precisely like nature in the above described Missal of Leofric. They have merited the attention of all historical authorities; and, if only because while the previous liberations of serfs were principally discharged within sacred precincts with some perhaps even rude ceremony, these took place in the open air on a public thoroughfare, literally *conspectu omnium*, and yet were witnessed by various clerical orders, and registered in the most sacred and frequently used volume of the Church.

In these inscriptions many names, dates, and other articles are illegible, but sufficient is clear to give main facts. Thus on fol. a. in the Missal of Leofric, an unknown lord "freed Humu at Okehampton, on Midsummer Mass even, for . . . at four cross roads, in witness of Brown, Mass priest and of all the priests."

"Birhtric freed Hroda at Coryton, on . . . after the Mass day of Pentecost in . . . priests and of all the priests of the convent there . . . priest."

But on fol. 8b. the interest attached to these notes is heightened by the repeated appearance of Ordgar on the scene, the great Earl of Devon. This was still more in his own county.

"These are the names of the men who were freed for Ordgar at Bradstone, where he lay sick, that is Cynsie from Liwton,* and Godchild from Lambourn (probably Lamerton), and Leofric of Sourton, Dolawin's son and Eadsig of Churchford and Ælfgyth of Buckland, and Small of Ocmuntun, and Wifman of Bradstone, and Byrflaed of Trematon, and Ælfled of Clymeston (possibly Stoke Climsland in Cornwall), in witness of Wynstan the mass priest and Wulfsie of Lambourn, and of all the priests of the convent there and Ælfgyth of Sourton. And thereto is witness Cynsie the priest and Goda the priest

* These villages are all in the hundred of Lifton, within a few miles of Tavistock, in South-West Devon.

and Ælfric the priest who wrote this history. This was done at Borslea (*i.e.*, Bowsleigh, in the parish of Bratton Clovelly) for Ordgar."

In every instance, as the following prove, either one or more priests was present as witness of the act and deed, and either himself wrote the manumission or ordered it to be registered in the most valuable book of the convent to which he belonged.

"Eadgyfu freed Ælfgytha, daughter of Birhsie, the loaf distributor (or steward) at Borslea, at four cross roads, in witness of Wynstan the mass priest and of Goda the priest, and of Cynstan, Goda's son and of Afa. Birhtric freed Æffa at Coryton, in witness of Brown the mass-priest and of Wynstan the priest, and of all the priests of the convent there."

"Eadgyfu freed Leofrun at Coryton, for Ordgar, in witness of Brown the mass-priest and of all the priests of the convent there."

"Byrhtric freed Ribrost and White on Midwinter mass-day at Tiwarhel in witness of Prude the mass-priest."

"Eadgyfu freed Wulfric at four cross roads, three weeks before midsummer, in witness of Byrstan the mass-priest and of Cynstan and of the clerk who wrote this."

"Eadgyfu freed Wulfwunn on midsummer mass-day, in witness of Wulfnoth the mass-priest and of all the priests of the convent there."

"Eadgyfu freed Æthelgyfu, Wunechild's wife, at four cross roads on the eve of midsummer mass-day at Braeg (that is, Bridgerule, called in Domesday Brige), in witness of Brown the mass-priest and of all the priests of the convent there."

Now, these accounts of the manumissions of slaves, both male and female, in Devon and Cornwall, are evidence of quite unparalleled importance in the records of Britain. They exist in no other province, county, or diocese of the kingdom. They are quite historical solecisms, and as they mention both persons

and places previously and otherwise unknown, they shew the unexpected resources which are laid up often in the most improbable books of Church use. They only serve, however, to shew how faithful and business-like the clergy of even the darkest age of the Church were, that they were practically the Registrars of the society in which they lived, and that in the absence of a daily press the Church was not only the educator but the chronicler of contemporary local history not merely for kings but emancipated serfs.

The choice of "feaver wegas" as the place for this action, gave such gifts of charity desirable publicity, and more than that, the very position of the slave standing before the representatives of the Church and State, with freedom and escape within his reach on every side, on the right and on the left, before and behind, impressed upon the memory of all present the solemn dissolution of the hated servitude.

More and more intricate clues might be discovered in this connection, but the following will suffice.

Ælfric, the clerk who made these entries on the now disjointed almost illegible skin, is unidentified; so is Birhtric; the name so repeatedly occurs at this period. But it seems very probable that Eadgyfu is none other than the wife of the great Ordgar of Tavistock, and in the following remarkable notice of Stoke Canon her name once more turns up, the worthy and somewhat ubiquitous priest Brown likewise recurring.

"These are the men (thus runs the deed on fol. 11a. of the Missal of Leofric) who are made sureties between Eadgyfu the abbess, and Leofric the abbot, respecting the land at Stockton, Wulfsig, Edig and Cytel and Denise and Godwin and Hunwin and Swete and Edwig Bow and Brown the priest that the abbot should have it for his day and that after his day it should go to the minster." This minster can be no other than Exeter, from which Edward the Confessor transplanted the monks to

Westminster. But perhaps it is too much to identify the Abbess Eadgyfu with the widow of Duke Ordgar, though she undoubtedly took the veil.

This as a final extract from the Missal, which is called after Leofric, exemplifies the extremely miscellaneous nature of its contents.

Such was unquestionably the character of many books of the few then existing, and of this a more remarkable specimen is that volume which beyond all others justifies a journey to the old Cathedral Capital of the West. The title is:—

MYCEL · ENGLISCH · BOC.

One Great English book on miscellaneous subjects, composed in verse.

From the time of its being written, in all probability by order of the Bishop himself as a contemporary collection of religious and popular thoughts and fancies before his translation from Crediton, up to the discovery of Wanley, little attention was most fortunately paid to these dull and unintelligible sheets of vellum. Illumination there was none; decoration utterly wanting; elaboration of capitals and title conspicuously absent. Nor was it till 1826, when the brothers Conybeare introduced it to the world of scholars, that the Anglo-Saxon Codex of Exeter had been even so much as recognised.

For the last sixty years attention, diligent and accurate study has been unsparingly expended by every German literary authority from Grein to Wulker of Leipzig, who in 1878 most carefully collated the original with the already printed edition.

The provoking mutilations from which it has suffered, both at beginning and end, from the loss of some pages to the hiatuses created in the concluding leaves by acids or fire, only serve to render the contents more precious and attractive.

Briefly glancing at the subject matter, we find a marvellous collection of biblical, moral, and pious reflections mixed up with descriptions of animal life, enigmas, and riddles.

The author, if indeed there were not many, is only known in one case by his own assertion, contained in Runic signs in the legend of S. Juliana, to be Cynewulf.

A few quotations will shew the character and style. They represent the prevalent ideas of a period, generally considered as intensely dark and ignorant and void of elegance and refinement, but it must be confessed that numerous passages occur which redeem both writers and readers of that day from any such charges, though the title given to it in the catalogue describes it well as miscellaneous. Mixed it is, for while it commences with a long poem on Christ, probably the opening piece of the book by Cynewulf, and is followed by the legend of S. Guthlac, we immediately come face to face with the apocryphal Phœnix, and in a dozen folios find ourselves indulged with somewhat abstruse reflections on the various gifts and pursuits of men, the counsels of a father to his son, the perils of the seafaring man, the wonders of Creation, and animals as varied as the panther, whale, and partridge.

Some of the pieces, whether rightly termed poetry or romance, have a very pathetic and suggestive tone. Such is that of the Address of the Soul to the Body (fol. 98a.-100a.), though truly a reproachful plaint :—

> "Thy possessions are naught which thou here on earth didst exhibit to men : therefore for thee t'were better by very much than all earths riches unless thou hadst bestowed them for the Lord himself that thou hadst been at the beginning a bird, or fish in sea, or beast of earth ; hadst cultivated food, or like a brute beast wandered about the wild, without understanding, yea in the waste of fiercest wild animals ; yea even though thou wert of worm-kinds the worst, than ever thou hadst become man upon earth or ever baptism shouldest have received when thou for us both must answer on the great day, etc. Yea, what shall we two do?"

A ghastly description follows of corruption, calculated to alarm the careless and indifferent. Shortly after this some sixty riddles, or rythmical conundrums, appear. This is a favourite specimen :—

"I am greater than this wild earth : less than a worm : lighter than the moon : swifter than the sun : all the seas, the floods are in my embrace, and the lap of this earth, the green plains. I touch the abysses : I descend beneath hell : I ascend above the heavens, the abode of glory. I reach widely over the country of the angels. I fill the globe, the ancient wild earth, and the sea streams wide, with myself. Say what I am named." The answer probably is the Invisible, Omnipresent God, or possibly air.

One point of importance seems established by these poems, especially by that in which the story of Weland,* the Vulcan of Northern mythology, is given, namely, that even after the conversion of Britain to Christianity he was held in high esteem ; and that the general popular ideas of religion were strongly tainted with heathen mythology. Some, however, are of distinctly English origin, and, taken with the other documentary evidences we possess of the habits and trains of thought amongst the indigenous tribes of Devon and Cornwall, betray a curious miscellany of the True Faith with dark superstition. Such a condition was but natural. The gradual progress of Christianity is never more clearly shewn than in the influence which the moral principles of the Gospel exercised on the daily and ordinary circumstances of life. This is obvious in the manumissions which appear to have been ratified with the greatest possible publicity in the presence of the most aristocratic (in its primary sense) witnesses.

The Guilds, however, which are found in this *mélange* of Leofric speak more forcibly than any other of the real

* "Weland him bewurman."

conditions of social life in the villages and towns of Devon, if not of Cornwall. Cornwall is the nursery of the saints; Devon was at least organised on a system of assurance which in the nineteenth century has no equal. It absorbed, it concentrated, it involved both soul and body, future and present, here and hence. The reason was that at that time the Church of God was the one only representative of spiritual and temporal security. And this was the use and purpose, the promise and the pledge which these Guilds gave.

The names of the members admitted follow the names of the places where these Guildships existed. One was at Colaton, another at Sidmouth, another at Axmouth, but from the ancient Isca, or Exanceaster, as the head office, no doubt issued the schedule of rules to be observed by the Club associates. A General Provincial Lodge was apparently held in the City of Exeter "for the sake of God and the souls of the brethren to make such ordinances as tended to their welfare and security as well in their life as in that future state which we wish to enjoy in the presence of God the judge."

The following decrees were then unanimously carried :—

(1) That three stated meetings shall be held every year: 1st at Michaelmas : 2nd Annunciation : next following the Winter Solstice : third on Festival of all Saints which is celebrated after Easter.

(2) At each meeting every member shall contribute two sextaria (measures) of barleymeal, and every Knight one, together with his quota of honey.

(3) At each meeting a priest shall sing two masses, one for the living, the other for departed members. Every lay brother shall likewise sing two psalms, one for living, another for dead members. Every member moreover in his turn shall procure six masses and six psalms to be sung at his own proper expense.

(4) When any member is about to go abroad, each of his fellow members shall contribute 5d., and if any member's house shall be burnt 1d.

(5) If anyone neglect stated times of meeting: for first he shall be at expense of three masses, for 2nd five, and if after being warned of consequences, he shall absent himself a third time, he shall not be excused unless he has been hindered either by sickness or by the business of his lord.

(6) If anyone by chance neglect stated time of meeting, his quota of regular contributions shall be doubled.

(7) If any member shall treat any other member in an abusive manner his reparatory fine shall be 30d.

And finally we beseech every member, for God's sake, to observe these things which are ordained in this Society, in everything as we have ordained them.

And may God help us to observe them.

The other manuscript which remains to be considered as throwing light on the history of the Diocese is of a very different nature and of later date When the Conqueror in his Witan at Gloster declared his intention of finding out how many hundred hides each shire contained, what land the King had possessed in each, what cattle there were in each county, and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly from each, he sent inquisitors all over the county, and all that was liable to Danegelt they took notice of and nothing more. Hence mention of churches and clergy are extremely rare, and unless the latter held land as ordinary tenants, they do not usually appear. Bishops held of the King; they therefore, as tenants *in capite,* were included in the report, though sometimes their land was partially exempt. The information, however, to be got from Domesday is necessarily fragmentary and suggestive, not always circumstantial. The Earl of Moretain seems to have been the great aggressor and grabber of those times of the

possessions of the See. Osbern being bishop in 1086, it is specially noted that Leuricus, that is Leofric, held those in Cornwall T.R.E., *i.e.*, tempore Regis Edwardi, or, as is otherwise expressed, "the day on which King Edward was alive and dead," and that in Exeter city he held the following, if we may believe Hooker, who was well acquainted with all the documentary proofs of the Episcopal Capitular and Civic jurisdictions :—

(1) The Bishop hath his churche in the citie of Exon and payeth yerely the rent of one marke for the same.
(2) Also he hathe XLVII houses in the same and payeth the rent of Xs. Xd.
(3) Also twoo houses w^{ch} were burned and wasted wth fyre.
(4) Also twoo acres and haffe of Land lyeinge emonge the Burgesses Landes.
(5) Also theise landes as mencioned under the Name and Tytle of the landes of the Bishop of Exon. And not under the tytle of the auncyent demeane of the crowne of England.

Questions of coinage, mines, and markets, which are really alien to our subject, were nevertheless intimately connected with the interests of the Crown, if not of the Church, and it is therefore necessary to note in passing, as a singular omission, that the mines of Cornwall and Devon are never referred to, probably because sixty years after Athelstan had conquered Cornwall (in 935) it was ravaged by the Danes, and yet again by Godwin and Edmund, sons of Harold, in 1068. As to coinage, there were certainly two monetarii, or licensed coiners, in Exeter, though the Bishop was not favoured with a royal permit. And as to the markets, it is interesting to observe that there were markets at Launceston, Bodmin, Liskeard and Trematon Castle, as well as at St. Germans. At this last important episcopal residence the market was held, *mirabile dictu*, contrary to law, on the Lord's Day, for which

reason possibly—and not, as stated by the inquisitor, on account of its proximity to the market of the Earl of Moretain —it produced no profit.

At later periods the jurisdiction of the Capitular Body of Exeter brought them in, if not excellent supplies of fish, at least large profits from the lease of pilchard fishing with seines all along the south-east coasts of Devon and elsewhere ; but the solitary example of Devon salmon fishing was apparently the privilege of Judhel de Totnes, who had two salmon rights at Loddiswell and Cornwood from which he got thirty salmon a year.

The familiar word "hide," as applied to the land, differed in measurement in different places. In Devon it is applied to both pasture and wood: as for instance, in giving the dimensions of the property of St. Mary's Cathedral at Rouen we read that it comprised eight hides of pasture, twenty acres of meadow, and half a hide of wood, the two manors of Ottery and Rowridge paying seventy pound "Denariorum Rodmensium," which may stand for Rouen pence, if the latter word be nothing less than *Rothomagensium* phonetically abbreviated.

Amongst notes of tenures and service, S. Pieran appears as taxed at a very early period, for Domesday tells us that out of the manor had to be taken two lands which pay to the Canons a farm of four weeks and to the Dean 20s. by custom ; but when we look for mention of churches in this Diocese, not one is named in Cornwall, and only two in Devon.

If it was the landed property of the clergy which was the object in view, we need not be surprised that churches and incumbents should be omitted which did not possess any glebe ; their existence was of no importance. But the mention of priests occurring mostly in counties where few churches are mentioned, shews that the existence of priests implied that of churches which they were there to serve. Tithes are only referred to incidentally, and never in Devon and Cornwall. Clerks or chaplains did, however, certainly exist, as at Elinton.

From some statements it is clear that ecclesiastical corporations and churches were free from Danegeld, and had distinct privileges, such as partial, if not entire, exemption from this payment; for at Plimton, out of twenty-five hides, this tax was paid for only nine hides and a virgate; and at Pawton in Cornwall—an episcopal manor—only eight hides answered to payment.

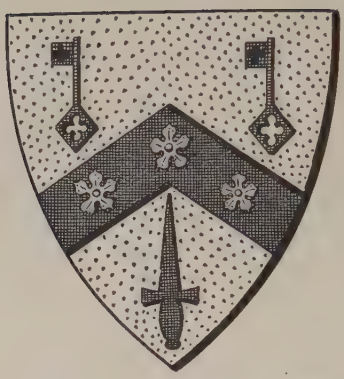
Most of the lands of Bodmin Monastery were entered under the name of Petrock, as was the custom of the time, the saint being actually supposed to hold the lands by a personal tenure. Buckfastleigh held a proud position amongst the abbeys of Devon, being styled *caput abbatie*, and ignoring all claims of gild.

The Exeter Book, still preserved at Exeter, within the precincts of the Cathedral, has this additional point of interest, that it is the original manuscript written at least in part by "Richard the scribe," and contains the number of the live stock on every farm in the two counties, but not with respect to the cattle of the inferior tenants, for they were responsible to their immediate lords and not to the king. Take for instance the manor called Pech, then belonging to the Earl of Moretain, and compare the latter part of the two descriptions:—

Exeter.	Exchequer.
Two ploughs can plough this and Reginald holds it of the Earl.	There is land for two ploughs. There is one plough two bondmen and three villeins and two bordars and two acres and one leuga of pasture.
Here Reginald has in demesne two ferlings and a plough and the villeins have two ferlings.	
Reginald has also these three villeins and two bordars and a bondman and one head of cattle and fifty sheep and twenty goats and two acres of coppice and one leuga of pasture and it is now worth 10s. a year, and it was worth, when the Earl received it, 15s.	Formerly it was worth 15s. now it is worth 10s.

In other manors the number of pigs, asses, beasts of burden, pack horses, and brood mares is given. There were as many as three hundred swineherds in charge of the forests.

The population in Devon in 1086 was as nearly as possible 17,434. One remarkable illustration of the care attached to this particular MS. is afforded by the fact that a leaf which was missing from 1656 was recognised as belonging to the Exeter "Dom boc," and after over two hundred years restored by the Trevelyan family of Nettlecombe Court, Taunton, to the Cathedral Library.



WALTER BRONSCOMBE, BP. 1258.

CHAPTER III.

Walter Bronscombe, a native of Exeter, was consecrated to the See on March 10, 1257-8.

There has been no Bishop after him who ever so thoroughly made the Diocese his own, nor was ever prelate more respected for those qualities which show both sincerity of heart and nobility of purpose. Statesman and diplomatist, in Church as in State, it is not surprising that his name stands first and foremost in the "Dictum de Kenilworth," or that in a matter which concerned more intimately the emoluments of the See he vigorously resisted the reckless and utterly unjustifiable encroachments of the Duke of Cornwall.

It is usually thought and not infrequently urged by those who are anxious to prove the inability and covetous imbecility of mediæval prelacy that immense incomes were absorbed by men whose senile incapacity or depraved tastes rendered them obnoxious at once to poor and rich alike. Happily such

pessimists will find no such monsters in this County of Devon, nor in the more remote province of Cornwall. The thirteenth century, at least in the West, has a record of activity which augurs well for the fair reputation of her Bishops at a very critical crisis of the Church's history. Strong and resolute as the huge Norman towers beneath which they were called to wield their pastoral staff of succour and correction, both Walter, surnamed the Good, and Peter Quivil, alike natives of Exeter, in their own way left upon the Church and Diocese unmistakeable marks of their powers. Of the former Bishop there are but few architectural achievements within the Cathedral Church, but as an indefatigable administrator in spiritual things he has had no rival in the See of Leofric. His anxiety for the promotion of true religion and the permanent support of the divine offices in the numerous monasteries throughout the length and breadth of the counties of Devon and Cornwall has no surer proof than that afforded by the Itineraries found in his Register. As a fair example we may take that for 1259. From April 7th to the 21st Bishop Bronscombe was at home in his Cathedral City; the first three days of May were spent in London; on the 4th and 21st of the same month, on the 28th of June, and the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 9th of July he was at his Manor of Horsley in Surrey, and on throughout the remaining months of the year at and passing through the following places:—Bedfont, Epsom, Dunsford, Chidham, Faringdon, Maidenhead, Honiton, Exeter; August 31st and the next day were spent at Crediton, in former times the Cathedral Church of Holy Cross, but now sadly fallen from her high estate and reduced to the comparatively poor staff of twelve canons and as many vicars. With the view to reinstate her in somewhat of her former efficiency, the Bishop granted her Chapter the church of Egloshayle, which was eventually changed for that of Lanant in the Deanery of Penwith. By this gift they obtained amongst other tithes those of fish landed at Conner and

Govier sands, but it was left for the Bishops of the next century to increase and develope the greater resources of this ancient minster. Passing through Bridestowe, Launceston, Lawhitton and Bodmin, he came to Polton (in S. Breocke), S. Newlyn, and by Kenwyn to Truro on September 28th, working back thence by Tregony, S. Antony-in-Roseland, S. Michael Caerhayes, Tregeare, Mevagissey, Bodriggan, S. Austell and Looe, the Episcopal party arrived at S. Germans Priory on October the 11th, where they stayed two days. Thence, following more or less the county bounds and the River Tamar, they went by Sheviocke, East Antony, Rame, Pillaton, S. Mellion, Botus-Fleming, North-Petherwin, S. Clether, and Kelly to S. Stephens-by-Launceston on the 25th of the same month. After this rather extensive and exhaustive tour it was relatively easy work to visit the parish churches of the Rural Deaneries round the cathedral city. Occupied in diocesan business at his palace of Chudleigh and enjoying a week of leisurely rest after his Cornish journeys, Bishop Bronscombe rode to Bridford on November 8th, and during the next fortnight found time to visit Combe-in-Teignhead, his estate at Paignton, Totnes, Trusham, Ashcombe, and Powderham, reaching his palace at Exeter again on November the 26th. Commencing his visitation eastward on December 1st, after a short peep at Polsloe Nunnery on the last day of November, he went viâ Ottery S. Mary, Dunkeswell, Payhembury, and Sheldon, Kentisbeare and Sampford Peverell to his Cornish Manor of Lawhitton, returning by Paignton on January 30th. During February and March his visitations seem to have been confined to Branscombe and a return to Horsley on February 22nd. The amount of hard work got through in this time is exceedingly creditable when we consider the dangers and difficulties of locomotion at that period, and the distance travelled. Within the space of ten years Bishop Walter the First dedicated no less than eighty eight rebuilt or enlarged churches,

forty occurring in one single year. After a lapse of six hundred years there still remain in many a beautiful Church in the combes and clefts of Cornish coast and Devonshire vale the sure signs of the wide and wise system of careful restoration which he so energetically encouraged. Strong and tough, though by no means sturdy of frame, his interest in the foundation and support of religious communities, as far apart as Newenham in one direction and Glasney in the other, led him to spare neither wealth nor health in their advancement, and if his knowledge of sanitary principles was unequal to his largeness of heart, as expressed in the motto which he caused to be carved over the gateway of his Manor house at Clyst Gabriel—

JANUA PATET : COR MAGIS,

at least in the choice of a site for his favoured College of Glasney, there may have been other and unknown disadvantages which prevented the Church of the Blessed Thomas from becoming the rival of S. Petrock or S. Burian. At the beginning of this century but one shattered arch and a broken column were left to tell of the existence of that once highly favoured spot. The name of Bishop Bronscombe lives throughout the Diocese for the influence which he had upon the Cathedral Chapter and on the people of the widely-scattered parishes of his Diocese; and if his memorial be sought in the less enduring monuments of stone and colour, his effigy may yet be seen in the chapel which he built or restored during his lifetime, adjoining the Lady Chapel of Exeter Cathedral. The Herald of the Incarnation had ever been his patron and his guardian saint, and so for the perpetuation of his obit he instituted a special feast on the first Monday in September in honour of S. Gabriel, and for the due celebration thereof appropriated the Rectory of St. Breward to his Chapter of Exeter.

Gaudeat in Celis was the pious wish of his fulsome panegyrist, and even in earthly matters, or rather posthumous honours, he seems to have been more fortunate than his noble successor de Grandisson, who, with much anxiety and pain, acquired the church of S. Meryn for the continual and unceasing celebratiou of his obit, but to so little purpose that in less than fifty years the church was so fallen into decay and ruin as to necessitate the discontinuance of the appointed commemoration.

This "sincere and faithful" Father was followed in his good works by a fellow-citizen of equal powers and even greater aims. The wanton mutilation of the Register of Bishop Quivil has, we may thankfully acknowledge, done nothing to alter our conviction and appreciation of the man who, at a most important period of Church life, accomplished an inimitable architectural design, and by his firm enforcement of Canon law did lasting service to the Church of England. Lacking no enthusiasm for the undoubtedly unpopular work of the reformation of both clergy and layfolk, his mind was set upon one main object and design—the enlargement on a dignified and bold scheme of the Mother Church of the Diocese. When he was consecrated to the See of Exeter the appearance of his Cathedral Church must have been extremely clumsy and incongruous. There stood two massive Norman towers, substantial and to all outward observance of imperishable solidity; to these was joined a choir of dwarfed and humble proportions, with little of grace or beauty to commend it. Still, beneath that insufficient roof near the High Altar there were, in their original position, the very precious relics which the most glorious King Athelstan had so lavishly and lovingly bestowed on his chosen temple at Exanceaster. Within that holy fane lay the remains of our first proud and beneficent Bishop; there had Boniface of Mentz received his earliest training, and, with all the burning fire of the Holy Spirit,

corroborated the childish promptings of his first warm passion to win the Martyr's diadem even amongst the wildest hordes of Frisia.

The House thus low and small was all unworthy of such holy memories and utterly inadequate for such splendid promises of more glorious service. To raise the whole building up to the lofty towers, to lift up in a stately and elegant severity this now debased and feeble body, and offer in one great design to future generations for their worship and adoration a Mother Church to which all her faithful children should come up with their songs and gifts, where with becoming dignity and honour the great and highest act of Eucharistic praise might daily ascend to the presence of the Eternal Majesty on high—this was at least to the heart of Peter Quivil one of the first, if not the very first, of the objects of his ambition.

To Bishop Quivil then was the title "Founder of the New Work" given for a most sufficient reason, namely, that to his mind and hand were owing and are now due the praise of the perfect symmetry and delicate beauty of this the fairest of all the Cathedral Churches of the Decorated Gothic Order throughout the whole kingdom. Henceforth no legitimate or conceivable means were spared in the amassing of funds for the all important consummation of his one enterprise. It assumed the paramount claim of episcopal authority and benediction; for over sixty years it absorbed the alms of the faithful and the contents of the collecting chests in various parts of the church: every abbey, priory, college and religious house offered full participation in the benefits of daily masses and other sacred offices to all persons contributing to this one sole end.

To infer from the intense anxiety shown by Peter of Exeter that the completion of the Cathedral building was the only object of his life-long labours would be extremely unjust. The edifying of the Body of Christ involved very different treat-

ment. Succeeding to the See at a time when the irregularities of the English Church had necessitated a thorough reform in order and discipline, he resolutely determined to set his own house in such a condition of propriety and activity that the penalties of the Canon law already in force, but hitherto grudgingly obeyed, should have no terrors for either clergy or laity. The mission of the Papal legates, Otho and Othobon, had not been in vain; the abuses of pluralism, of leases, of reckless nepotism, of scandalous conduct in the ranks of the clergy, were to be henceforth no more condoned.

The reckless mutilation of Bishop Quivil's Register would have been a greater loss to the historian of his remarkable episcopate were there not independent evidences existing both in the Cathedral archives and Bishops' Registers of his immense activity. The Synod which he convened in 1287 in the Cathedral City may have been merely a promulgation of the Canon law already in force throughout the kingdom; but, taken in connection with the recent revision of the Cathedral Statutes, it shows a determination on the part of the Diocesan to begin by first regulating the lives of the dignified clergy and then ordering the rural priesthood, and thus in due course the laity; and it is thus highly instructive to observe how at every successive attempt at a general reformation both by Cranmer and Cardinal Pole, no less than in those measures of repressive or persuasive discipline which were attempted by Henry VIII. and Edward VI., the original enactments of Canon law formed the backbone and were full of the spirit of the earlier Decretals. Brief mention, therefore, of some of the salient features of the Exeter Synod, followed by an account of the condition of some of the Cornish and Devonshire parishes, will give a reliable picture of religious and moral life in the thirteenth century in the West of England.

The Acts of the Synod are contained in fifty-two chapters. Introducing the preamble with a text from Ecclesiasticus:

"The Lord created medicines out of the earth: and that this is in the first and chief place to be understood of the medicine of the soul of which Christ is the Physician, inasmuch as He is also the good Samaritan who poureth in wine that is the saving balm of his Word, and Sacramental oil," Peter Quivil, by the Divine mercy, Bishop of Exeter, though exceedingly unworthy, in some sense as it were His vice-gerent upon earth, following the example of Paul the teacher of the Gentiles who convoked the Synod at Miletus, has thought good to call together our brethren and children in Christ to this Sacred Synod to be held in our Church at Exeter that we may drink with joy the water of wisdom from the Saviour's spring.

Passing over the first eight Articles, which treat of the Sacraments, of which it is said Holy Baptism is the door, we find the ninth treats of oratories and chapels, and lays down strict rules for their use so as to prevent any encroachment on the privileges of the parish church. It will be impossible, in this short review of Church history, to give anything like a full account of these numerous and minute regulations. A summary glance at them must suffice.

The dedication of churches, however, and of cemeteries in certain hamlets at a great distance from the parish church, claim first attention. It was impossible, in a parish like Lydford, for instance, to convey a corpse fifteen or twenty miles, through storm and tempest, to the windy height of the old Stannary castle and gaol. In such circumstances the dead might be buried in places specially set apart for that purpose, and the Bishop, when he came that way, would bless them.

The ornaments prescribed need not here be more specifically named than in so far as they touch modern history. But it is clear that at a period previous to strong Roman assertion they included two surplices and one rochet, for the ministry, and at least eleven books for use. As these books were the groundwork of our present prayer book, it may be as

well to mention them. First, a good missal, then a tropary and gradual, a good manual, a legenda, an antiphonary, a psalter, an ordinale, a venitare, an hymnary, a collectare. After this list of books, order is expressly given that the Acts of the Synod be supplied in every church by Michaelmas. This book is always called Synodus.

The church furniture was of a costly nature. There was to be in every church a silver chalice and a pix for the reserved Sacrament of silver or ivory. The mattin books, one psalter, the glass windows in the chancel. and the baldachino over the Host were all the burdens laid upon the vicar, the custom in this Diocese being that all other church requisites be found by parishioners. Sometimes when the Archdeacon was about to visit a church they borrowed what they had not themselves supplied from another church so as to deceive the Bishop's representative. This fraud was strictly, under pain of excommunication, forbidden. Further, to impress more forcibly upon priest and people their responsibility in their parish church, it is ordered that if through neglect of the vicar robbers get into the church and carry off any of the ornaments thereof he shall be obliged to make good the loss. If the parish has left the nave of the church in ruin and decay, then it falls on them.

Differences had unhappily arisen in some places between priest and people as to the collection of alms, the parishioners having put up trunks or boxes in the nave or churchyard and persuaded the foolish that alms placed therein were more acceptable to God than those offered in the accustomed chest to the parish priest.

At Candlemas also some had presumed to take the candles which the devout brought as offerings, and on the plea of making one large wax taper to burn before the Cross, shamefully robbed the people. These presumptious and nefarious acts on the part of the laity we, says the Bishop, abhor, and

hereby command that all such trunks be removed by Midsummer, and if afterwards any man presume to preach at them, we suspend them from the privilege of divine offices.

At this period even disputes had arisen in some parish churches as to sittings, but the general rule laid down now was that any one coming into church to say his prayers can sit where he likes, certain places being by right reserved for landowners.

From the familiarity with which the people treated their parish church some seem to have thought that amusements and games were not incongruous with the sacred building or the sleeping bodies around it. Even in the 16th century this was the custom at Colyton, where at Whitsuntide they brought in horses covered with trappings and children thereon, and in celebration of the feast or defiance of foreign invasion, one Blackmore brought guns or pieces (as he and his friends called them) and fired them off from the roof of Colyton church, a proceeding which resulted in an appearance of Blackmore before the Consistorial Court who pleaded that he was engaged upon the Queen's artillery, but subsequently withdrew the defence and did penance.

Article 14. Feeding off the churchyard with sheep was forbidden by canon law no less than by the civil, and all trees growing there were incontestably the property of the parson, and should only be used for repairs of the church.

Abuses of sanctuary had been emphatically condemned by Othobon the Papal legate, and the rebuilding and repair of churches insisted on without delay or excuse.

The first of our offertory sentences furnishes an excellent text from which to preach a forcible and unequivocal condemnation of the extravagant and indecorous style of dress in vogue amongst the clergy, both richness of colour and singularity of habit being contrary to the propriety of the cloth. Clerks are withdrawn from the "vulgar life." In this context the

epigrammatic denunciation by Pope Gregory is brought in as a warning against gluttony and drunkenness, by far the longest article of the Synod being levelled at the terrible abominations which had in the last century undermined the whole influence of the Church, and declaring that in the hearing of both clergy and laity it must be most emphatically proclaimed that only the lawful conditions of matrimony are recognised by the Church, and that any other intercourse must lead to eternal peril.

The ever increasing evils of non-residence next received rebuke, the Bishop declaring that even if Papal dispensations were obtained, such authorities must be shewn him by Michaelmas.

Not a few abuses had crept in at which the Papal legates had aimed their most severe censures. Amongst these stood prominent the prevalent irregularity as to holy orders. Men who had not even obtained minor orders held rich livings, and with painful frequency cases occurred of a deacon being instituted to a benefice to the great detriment of the spiritual interests of the parish. In such cases one moiety of the fruits of the benefices were to go to the church store, one part of the other moiety to the parish, and the balance to the Archdeacon.

The familiar apothegm, in an aggravated form, that ignorance is the mother of all manner of mischief, comes in with special force when applied to clerical incompetence. The office of Archdeacon was obviously more than nominal, when, as we see, his duty was to enquire diligently in every place which of the clergy were guilty of frightful ignorance and to send up their names to the Bishop. It is also important here to realize the view of the Athanasian Creed taken by the Church of England in early times as the ordinary standard of religious belief. Parish priests must have at least a simple understanding of the Articles of the Christian Faith as contained in the Psalm *Quicunque vult*, and the other symbol the Apostles

Creed. Indeed, the clergy were bound to put all their study that way, so that they might unremittingly teach the people committed to their charge. To assure this reasonable modicum, every priest was called upon to learn a Summula which the Bishop had compiled, have it copied out and in use by next Michaelmas.

The daily offices of the country churches were not kept up with becoming regularity, for sometimes when the bells were even rung, and the worshippers arrived, they would be told by the clerk, "The parson is not here; he is away to-day." A month's suspension from the performance of Divine Service was not too heavy a penalty for such acts of sacrilegious robbery.

Priests should not celebrate twice in the same day except at Christmas and Easter, when presumably the number of communicants was so large that the difficulty was insuperable; but at first Mass, under such circumstances, the priest was not to take the ablutions. Parish priests had, in some instances, in accordance with the statute of Lyons, taken priests' orders, but neglected to celebrate. Unless within half a year they complied with the law of the Church they would have to forfeit their benefices. By another article, deacons were strictly forbidden to hear confessions, or enjoin penance, or do other priestly functions. Laymen were strictly forbidden to stand about the churchyards with their hounds or to bring them within the holy building. Sunday trading was prohibited except for food, and that in urgent necessity only allowed. (Art. 22.) The observance of the feasts of the Church had hitherto been marked by extremely inconvenient uncertainty, but from henceforth these were the festivals of the year:—

January. Circumcision; Epiphany; Conversion of S. Paul.
February. Purification; Chair of S. Peter; S. Matthew.
March. S. Gregory; Annunciation; Easter.
April. S. George; S. Mark.

May. SS. Philip and James; Invention of Holy Cross; S. John Latin.
June. S. Barnabas; Nativity of S. John Baptist; App. Peter and Paul.
July. Translation of S. Thomas the Martyr; S. Mary Magdalen; S. James.
August. S. Peter ad Vincula; S. Laurence; Assumption B.V.M; S. Bartholomew; Beheading of S. John Bapt.
September. Nativity B.V.M.; Exaltation of Holy Cross: S. Matthias; S. Michael Arch.
October. S. Luke; SS. Simon and Jude.
November. All Saints; S. Martin; S. Catharine; S. Andrew
December. S. Nicholas; Conception B.V.M.; S. Thomas; Christmas octave.

There are also the four days after Easter and Whitsuntide, the feast of the local saint, and the dedication festival of the Church.

In Article 24, secular occupations for the clergy are strongly deprecated, chiefly on account of the obvious incompatibility of the clerical profession with commercial pursuits. There is nothing to prevent a clerk from honest manual labour. This would have been a most injudicious restriction, when we consider how many of the country clergy necessarily farmed their own glebe, and assisted to build and beautify the parish churches with their own hands. Awkward complications must inevitably arise if the clergy were involved in legal formalities and forensic engagements. All such dissipations were firmly deprecated, and the administration denounced as unsuitable for members of the holy priesthood.

Article 26 was aimed at one of the most flagrant abuses of Church temporalities. The farming out of high dignities had compromised both the character and welfare of many of the noblest foundations of the Anglican Church, when she suffered from the wholesale importation of foreign ecclesiastics, thirsting for her well-secured estates.

Article 28 touches on a matter of internal economy, the proportionate stipend to be assigned to parish priests being prescribed under stringent regulations.

The iniquity of brother going to law with brother admits of no palliation. The manner of holding Rural Chapters, the unjustifiable impositions of Church Courts, and the grievous inconsistency of laymen appearing as advocates in causes determinable by canon law are the salient points in the next articles of the Synod.

In passing briefly through the subsequent articles, the following points alone call for special remark.

A priest for the first year in holy orders was not to have sole charge of a parish on the ground that the cure of souls is "Ars Artium." Letters dismissory required caution for various reasons.

The evils of simony had long since been pronounced by the fathers as perilous in equal degree with heresy. Nothing could ever be charged by the clergy for spiritual offices, as such impositions amount really to a sale of the Godhead.

All fines and pecuniary mulcts went to the fabric fund of the Cathedral. Church goods were to be jealously guarded. Great caution should at all times be observed in wielding a weapon so weighty and serious in its consequences as excommunication, but in every case such sentences should be delivered within a month.

Articles 44, 45, and following touch on other provisions connected with excommunicatory inflictions, while in 47 advice is given as to the reception of alms-men who have no licence and whose schedules will not bear examination.

Article 48, dealing with the difficult question of relics, assumes, if it does not in so many words assert, the infallible judgment of the Church in all such matters, and the faithful are warned against intimacy with Jews, who are "sons of the bondwoman," on the principle that "evil communications corrupt good manners." They are disqualified from holding public offices; unfit for social festivities; medicine might not be received from their hands; and on Good Fridays they were

to keep their doors and windows shut for fear they should mock the Christians in their affliction. No new synagogue might be built nor ruinous one restored. Badges of distinction were to be worn always by all Jews, and yet notwithstanding all these disqualifications they were to pay all church rates and tithes on their property.

The main concluding articles of the Synod declare the duties and obligations of the clergy towards their parishioners in the testamentary disposition of their goods. When any man desired to make his will he should instantly send for the rector, vicar, or chaplain of the parish of the town or hamlet in which he lives and in his presence and that of two other respectable persons dispose of his property for the good of his soul, making proper provision for his funeral and family as well as for the satisfaction of his debts.

Executors in our Diocese, says Bishop Peter, should be chosen for their wealth and respectability. Those who refused to render an account of an estate were liable to suspension. This clause was to be in every will—namely, that all goods not expressly mentioned should be disposed of by the executors for welfare of the testator's soul. In many parishes the Church is entitled to the mortuary if the deceased received the last sacrament, but if a man dies in a parish where he owns no land, he shall pay it to the parish church where his hearth-fire burnt at the time of his death.

A summary even of the various orders concerning payment of tithes and oblations, sentences of excommunication, and other disciplinary matters cannot be given here, but one regulation is emphatically laid down, namely, that a written copy of the Synodical Constitutions be kept by every priest and also learnt by heart, so that all the clergy may be able to explain it to the laity in the vulgar tongue.

"Pray," are the concluding words of exhortation, "pray for

Bishop Peter, in life and death; whoever shall do this shall have forty days' indulgence. Amen."

No better illustration of the practical effects of this Synod, the general purpose and scope of the Canon law, and the conditions of society in the thirteenth century can be obtained than in the official reports of the Capitular Commissioners to their estates and manors. These were widely scattered over the two counties of Devon and Cornwall. The first which has come to hand is indeed some six years earlier than the Synod itself.

At this time (1281. A.D) the churches of Yda (now called Ide), Clysthoniton, and Branscombe were on the whole in tolerable repair; the books, ornaments, and vessels certainly not in proper order or efficiency. But when we go further east, to more wealthy manors and churches, we find a better supply of vestments and all other requisites. At Dawlish for instance, and at Saint Marychurch there were a good processional cross, an ivory and silver pix for the Eucharist. The books were generally speaking in good condition. With the exception of one window in the chancel the church was in fair repair, and the high altar was duly dedicated and the super-altar good. Passing back again to Teignmouth, the visitors found the church well supplied with two silver chalices, two large bells, and four small, though against these they had to set the insufficiency of the font, the bad condition of most of the books and the dilapidated condition of the chancel. At Topsham, a town of then great importance on the Exe, the principal grievance was the lamentable state of the tenement belonging to the church, which affected the due supply of the altar lights most prejudicially. At Littleham, at the mouth of the river, the mother of the now flourishing seaside resort Exmouth, the chancel was actually in ruins, though the relics of S. Andrew, the patron Saint, were happily intact. Thence into Cornwall, where at Elerky, for example, we find again an

excellent processional cross, which obviously elicited high commendation from the visitorial inquisitors. The bells were all that could be desired, as well as those of S. Symphorian, and the chancel defied censure. The same highly commendable account and condition of ecclesiastical properties existed at S. Wynnoc, though the chapel of S. Nectan, belonging thereto, was possessed of a very wretched old missal. There was, however, a far more serious grievance than this in the parish.

The jury of parishioners declared on oath that at harvest in the year 1279 Martin le Wal, bailiff of Boskennoc, Roger de Tork, bailiff of Sir Thomas de Wennow, had made a raid on S. Nectans and carried off all manner of rectorial tithes belonging to the Chapter in barley, oats, and other produce, and the next year their servants and men came and did the same again.

The report here suddenly takes us *per saltum* into Devon again, and lands us at Hurberton, where there was no chalice, it having been lately stolen with nearly almost all the other altar vessels and linen. No iron was to be seen here for making the oblates of bread. The chancel windows were in a shocking state, though the roof was good. The Vicar is responsible for this, as he has a tenth part of the church store for this purpose.

We must pass on, however, to a more modern period, and betake ourselves to the days of Bishop Stapledon, who was in his own time a member of that great ecclesiastical barony which held all the richest farms of the litoral in Devon as in Cornwall.

In 1301 we get fuller and more authentic reports as to the condition of feeling between lord and serf, between priest and people. At Ashperton, for example, the parishioners state plainly that they appreciate the ministrations of the vicar. In all spiritual and temporal matters he treats them fairly.

The parishioners of S. Marychurch say that up to the present time they had always kept the chancel of the church in order, and so were not called upon to give anything to the Church store; but now the vicar, though he does not keep up the chancel, expects them to keep up all the payments. The vicar seems to have been something of a paradox, as, though he abused the church for his own purposes, such as malting, yet he preaches well, and if he was not so constantly away at Mortonhampstead would be a very good parish priest. This important parish included both the chapelries of Kingkarswill and Coffinswell.

The condition of affairs at Dawlish, both moral and spiritual, was far from satisfactory, and though most of the church furniture was in good order, the image of S. Gregory at the high altar was badly painted and one hand was wanting.

At Coliton we get a very fair picture of the state of a large parish in the days of King Edward I. from the synodsmen who were summoned on oath to answer to some pertinent questions put to them by the capitular visitors. Richard Libor, Thomas de la Knolle, Thomas de la Doune, Henry Honte, John de Rading and William Boc stated that so far as "the spirituality" went Sir Robert their vicar preaches to the best of his ability; his predecessors used to call in the friars to instruct them about their salvation, but he does not care about them, and if they happen to come he does not give them anything. They wish him corrected for this. All the chaplains and clerks lead respectable lives and continent. The farmer or lessee behaves himself well in his office. Philip Liver some time ago assigned to the church of Coliton two acres of land at 12d. yearly rent for the support of Axebridge and the light of the church of the Blessed Mary at Coliton and the chapel of S. Calixtus in equal shares. This land has been let by the lessee to a tenant, but the farmer will not pay any rent. Former vicars, say the synodsmen, used to find a deacon at their own cost to serve the church, sleep there, and take care of the books and ornaments

of the church, who had one penny for funeral knells and weddings. This vicar has done away with the deacon, and makes his parish clerk do the work. Four other tenants were then also called and sworn, and these said that when the present lessee came there stood in the court an old tumbledown granary which could not stand any longer. The stewards had taken it down; its value was 20s., but it could be built again for 40s.; the wood and stones for the roof were still there. The grange had tumbled down, but the lessee had rebuilt it entirely, so that it was worth two such. In his time also there had been a little house which was really no good, and so it had been allowed to tumble down. It was only worth 5s. But not to go into longer details as to the many improvements which the lessee had carried out since he had come to Coliton, it is briefly stated that he had spent 77s. in the place, and that all the houses were in much better order than when he took the property.

At Clist Honiton, where at the previous visitation it was found that the *two little church bells were hung on the branches of a tree*, things had gone from bad to worse, on this occasion no parishioner putting in an appearance, the church being all in ruins and all the books and other things necessary for the divine offices being lost with the exception of one or two old books.

With a short notice of Culmstock we must bring these curious stories of parochial life to a close. On the feast of S. James the Apostle the two appointed canons, John de Uphaven and William de Sancta Helena, came to this town. The synodsmen were first summoned to attend. Their names were Thomas Prodom, John de la Hel, William de Stapleden, and William Bytynon, who say that William their vicar is a man of good life and honest conversation and like his clerk teaches the parish well. So also with visiting the sick, baptising infants and everything else which appertains to his office he is

satisfactory except in only one respect, that they think he waits too long between mattins and Mass on feast days. There is no other fault to be found with him. John Benet, Michael de Bosco, William Cissor, and Robert Aleyn, with the four above-named jurymen, say that their lessee and his steward defend them duly against all comers, treat them well, neither lay any burden upon them nor in any way injure them, with one exception, that the cottagers of the town complain that they bother them about collecting and saving their hay. Whether they are justified in so doing they cannot tell. They say too that they are forced to cut the meadow of the lord of the manor, which his serfs ought and used to do. They report that the manse, garden, closes, and arable lands, with the pigeoncote and mill, are in good condition and much improved by the present lessee to the value of £20. The assise rent is increased to 3s. 4d. by two houses which he has rebuilt.

There are records of many subsequent visitations full of great interest; but with a brief glance at a famous Cornish parish we must conclude this subject. How this remarkable little church was overwhelmed with sand and subsequently recovered from darkness is well known, but we are unable to give a tithe of these very interesting accounts. In the actual words of the Visitation Roll, "at the visitation held at S. Pyeran on the day of S. Bartholomew the Apostle there were there one part-gilt silver chalice weighing xx*s* ; two little silver chalices weighing x*s*. ; two good and one poor set of vestments ; two good sets of corporals, eight towells blessed and ten not blessed, one silver pix for the Eucharist without a lock, five pewter phiols, one processional cross, five banners not worth a half-penny, and a few other things of no special interest." Now we come to the real treasures of the church which, not without reason, drew the faithful from long and weary journeys over crag and moor to the little shrine on the coast. "One chest, bound with iron and locked, in which is the head of S. Pyeran

with other relics. Another chest in which is S. Pyeran's badge of silver; the pastoral staff of S. Pyeran set with silver, gold, and precious stones; a tooth of S. Brendan and one of S. Martin in a certain silver box; also a silver cross in which are some tiny relics of S. Pyeran; a reliquary in which is placed the body of S. Pyeran; S. Pyeran's bone cross; and a bell." Amongst recent additions to this old and venerable collection was added one new feretory, which was empty.

PETER QUIVIL, BP. EXON. 1280-91.

CHAPTER IV.

While some bishops speak even to the present day by their structural or constitutional achievements, it is reserved for de Bitton to rest content with the plausible excuse that the absence of any register cannot be considered proof of his *inertia*, and that by the affection which he succeeded in winning on account of his personal qualities, worshipful birth, or excellent *cuisine*, he left the reputation of the See in as good and fair order as he found it. Indeed, it may be that after the exertions of Bronscombe and Quivil little was left for him to do, and if the weight of office lay not so heavy on his shoulders as the beautiful sapphire ring on his finger—which was in 1793 taken, with the fragments of a chalice and paten, from his tomb—the inscription on his gravestone, as recorded by Leland, is certainly devoid of those fulsome terms of laborious praise which distinguish the gorgeous sepulchres of these two indefatigable prelates.

The church of Bitton, near Bristol, from family interest, knows more of this excellent prelate than does the Cathedral Church of Exeter, for which his affections, though generously shewn in his gifts of plate, had less inclination than for the Church of Crediton. True, the Dean and Chapter of Exeter received a legacy of £600, while Walter de Stapledon as executor had but £10 for his pains. His visitation of the old Cathedral Church of the Holy Cross was an occasion both painful and profitable. She had miserably fallen from her high estate: the church of Lanant in Cornwall, given by Walter Bronscombe, was bringing in but little fruit; great irregularities existed as to the absence of canons and clergy, and the distribution of daily commons was unjustly made; the prebends needed re-arrangement, and the contrast between her palmy days before the Conquest and these degenerate times was discreditable. The statutes which nearly all the following Bishops of Exeter, as visitors, were compelled to pass for the salvation of the house were clearly futile in stemming the gradual decline and fall of the once noble Church of Sideman. The reason was not far to seek. Exeter had robbed her of her wealth, her hope, her *raison d'être*. "When King Edward was alive and dead" the Episcopal manor contained fifteen hides of geldable land, ploughed by 185 ploughs; the bishop held six hides with thirteen ploughs in demesne; knights and villains held eight hides and 172 ploughs under him; the wood was five miles in length and half a mile broad, where thirty swineherds looked after the swine, delivering 150 pigs each year to the larder; there was also much rough common ground which fed 115 goats; 400 sheep, fifty-seven porkers, four pack horses, and sixty-four other beasts of burden, were the stock which testified to the wealth of the Church in pre-conquest days. Also eighty acres of meadow and 200 of pasture and a mill were among the possessions of the Church.

The constitution of the Church also deserves brief mention,

because, though there was a Dean, he was clearly more concerned with the cure of souls in the town, while the Precentor was responsible for the maintenance of divine worship in the church, the former being really perpetual vicar, but bound to attend service on great festivals. The tenth century saw the establishment of the wool trade, and the long street re-echoed with the sound of the loom and shuttle for many a year.

The Church of the Holy Cross and the Mother of Him crucified thereon, the ever Virgin Mary, was not doomed to prosper, though as early as 1253 Bishop Blondy allowed the Canons to bequeath the prebend for one year to the fabric; but it is curious to read what affection some of the clergy had for the temple and its services as for each other, which they shewed by leaving their books on certain conditions to the church where they had served God.

Much of the beautiful work, though sadly mutilated, remains about the sedilia and tomb of the founder, precisely similar to the treatment found in the canopied monuments of Bishops Bronscombe and Stafford at Exeter. In 1413 the Norman nave was nearly levelled to the ground, but it was quickly rebuilt; and though the Perpendicular Church as now restored is hardly typical of the generality of Devon churches, the effect is extremely grand, and the use of the dark trap stone serves to lend sombre dignity and richness to its fine proportions.

In the unfortunate Walter de Stapledon, Bishop of the See, the example of high birth and ability was again followed. Though his high office was the indirect cause of his tragic and early death at the hands of the London mob, it is not unjust to observe that had recognition of moral degradation in his royal master but overcome his loyalty, he might have remained to witness the completion of his munificent and far-reaching schemes for the public good of his native county.

In startling contrast with the remarkable splendour of his

enthronisation and his own munificence to the Cathedral fabric was the manner of his death. The tragedy which is enacted perpetually in carved stone on the right side of the High Altar at Exeter serves to remind us forcibly of the weak king and the faithful chancellor. There is a dramatic solemnity in the realism with which the Bishop is represented by the recumbent effigy within his cenotaph where, with the volume of Decretals tightly grasped with his right hand laid upon his chest and the pastoral staff with his left hand, he gazes upon the soffit of the tomb on which is depicted the Risen Jesus with the five wounds, while *there climbs up a pillar a diminutive figure in Royal apparell* at the foot of the sepulchre.

In him as in the case of other Bishops of the Diocese we see the wide influence for good, temporal as well as spiritual, which their proverbial acts of beneficence provoked throughout the country towns, advantages which in many instances a thankless people ignore and despise, then as now; but as his words to the crowd that surged through Cheapside were lusty, his deeds to the folk of two of the most important market towns of Devon were good for many years in the additional fair which he obtained for Crediton and Chudleigh.

Amongst priories specially connected with the history of Bishop Walter II, that of S. Gregory of Frithelstock, from its connection with the Abbey of Hartland, stands first. Founded originally in 1224 for but one prior and four canons by Robert de Beauchamp as a colony of Hartland Abbey, to the family of Stapledon belonged the honor of its second foundation. Their donation of the manor of Broadwoodwidger prompted Bishop Grandisson's appropriation to the priors of its church in 1333, when the establishment was increased to thirteen canons and two secular clergy, who were to celebrate the perpetual obits of Bishop Walter and his brother Sir R$^{d.}$, and in these occasions feed 100 poor. Subsequently, Canon Brayleyh of Exeter granted the advowson of Ashwater to the

priory, but by the twenty-ninth year of Henry VIII. the thousand acres which comprised the best part of the estate came to Lord Lisle, the farm called "Cloisters" eventually falling into the hands of the present Lord Clinton. Even into the seventeenth century the peal of bells served to cheer the neighbouring hamlets, and three lancet windows remained to speak of former glory.

As David for his Son of Peace, so also Stapledon for Grandisson prepared materials in abundance for the house of the Lord which on the height above the gently flowing Exe was to shine like a well-set jewel, bright with gold and precious stone, from the humbler dwellings and stout walls of the old Saxon city. Around the High Altar, honorably sheltered by gorgeous canopy, stood the glittering statues and images of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, while from the silver lamps which hung like the stars on a summer night a glow of subdued sheen but half revealed the precious relics of the Martyrs, the gem-decked head of S. Margaret, the silvery filatory of S. Brannoc, S. Dunstan's chalice, a silver-mounted hand joint of S. Wolstan, and the very costly alabaster box of very precious ointment, with the silver foot, of Mary Magdalene.

So the rash though loyal Bishop, slain like a rough outlaw in the streets of the capital, passed away, but not ere he had brought new hope and splendid promise to the Church of the West. To him succeeded a man whose qualifications were, without exception, perfect for the work before him—the fourteen week long bishopric of James Berkley being as the memory of a guest that tarrieth but a day.

No prelate who ever sat upon the throne of Leofric had nobler ideas of the duties of the Episcopal office and prerogative than had John de Grandisson. Scion of the royal house of Burgundy, scholar, diplomatist, and courtier, in favour both at the Court of the English King and of the Pope

alike, no happier selection could have been made. A half completed church of exquisite design and perfect proportions ready to his hand, a wealthy predecessor his immediate example, with influential and energetic friends, nothing was wanting to make his term of Episcopacy honourable and practical. His visitatorial charges, while replete with unmistakeable allusions to the numerous abuses which had unhappily crept into even the Mother Church herself within recent times, shew how earnest was his desire and how strong his ambition to restore her in all respects to the primitive excellence of the patristic model. Brought up in association with all that was splendid in ceremony and vestment, little could he brook slovenliness in habit or irreverence in carriage or conduct. His first anxiety was to provide men of learning and honourable antecedents for the highest dignities in the Mother Church, and his second to deck them and all their attendant ministry within the sanctuary in garments suggestive of the honour which belongs by right to God.

The next and by far the most urgent object of his care was the order of the Divine offices. A lack of distinct individuality and idiom had lead to a carelessness in and confusion of the sacred functions painfully discrepant with the glory and dignity of the majesty of God. He, therefore, without delay procured from friends at court service-books of unquestionable order and precision. True, locomotion was difficult; he found himself cut off from all his friends of the College of Cardinals; posts there were none; stuck as he was "in culo mundi," how could they blame him for silence; not a man was there near of like mind who cared for him or his pursuit; John de Lydford was the solitary exception. But the age was one of unparalleled success and achievement in British arms; enthusiasm in ecclesiastical progress was not only laudable but even necessary. Ample provision of costly materials was at hand ready for the consummation of that bold and elegant design

which had been the most precious legacy of Peter Quivil to his Cathedral Chapter. The lengthening of the nave by the addition of the symbolical number of arches would not only bring into the walls of the Church herself the Charner-house in which mass was said daily for the soul of Bishop de Stapledon, but also the Chapel of S. Radegund, whose cult had great claims on the affections of de Grandisson. Therein would he make his own resting-place, and, like many less important persons of that period, prepare his tomb before he, in the plaintive phraseology of pious folk, migrated from this world. The conversion of the Norman nave into one of the Gothic order was the desire of his heart.

The reformation, however, which was the nearest his heart was an entire revision of the Use of his Cathedral Church, as affecting the order and compatibility of the Lectionary, prayers, and responsories. In his mind it was essential to the independence and dignity of so excellent a Church as that of Exeter that there should be one peculiar Pie (if we may use a word now more commonly understood than the mediæval Ordinale) known as Exeter Use, and used throughout the Diocese over which he presided, without dispute or question.

This he actually compiled, with his own predilections emphatically leaning in favour of the Roman, but admitting, with a very surprising amount of concession and grace to local and provincial propensities, due notice of those special saints and martyrs which the Church of Leofric had long held in esteem. In accord with this Ordinale he arranged a complete system of lessons for every Sunday and festival, in certain instances altering the text of Scripture (at that period, as we know, very corrupt), in others omitting what appeared to him irrelative, in others again supplementing an apparent defect by an apposite comment of his own. A prelate of such strong views of the privileges of the Diocesan could not sit at ease while any irregularities remained unrebuked or abuses

prevailed. Miracles which in a less advanced age would have received instant approval and official recognition were not tolerated for a day.

De Grandisson was staying at his manor of Chudleigh early in 1340 when news was brought him that on the morning of Sexagesima Sunday the bells of the Cathedral had been rung for the wonderful healing of the eyes of a blind man called Skynner. It was a clear case of gross imposture. Satan had transformed himself into an angel of light; the motive had been filthy gain; heavy penalties must be inflicted. Twenty years later cures were said to have been wrought at the tomb of Richard Buvyl at Whiston, in Cornwall. These were also strongly condemned. Bishop Stapledon had probably given the cue to his astute successor in the See by the insertion of a similar story in his Register. On that occasion, however, the Bishop satisfied himself that the miracle was genuine, and the bells were rung by command.

About this time stage plays received unfavourable notice from Bishop de Grandisson. The clergy of Ottery S. Mary had been guilty of gross indiscretion in allowing such unseemly orgies to be kept within the sacred precincts. This manor had been held by the Chapter of S. Mary at Rouen since the times of Edward the Confessor. The site of the Church which had been dedicated by Bishop Bronscombe in 1260, amongst fruitful pastures, attracted at once the notice of de Grandisson, who, after a somewhat hard bargain with the proprietaries for twenty-four marks per annum, obtained the inevitable Papal dispensation, and, having drawn up the necessary code of statutes, handed over his noble foundation to the newly-created governing body. One of his regulations shews his great anxiety that the habit of early and constant daily worship should never fail in the Church of England. In the sixth of the seventy-eight statutes drawn up for the due ordering of this his model institution it is expressly ordered that from the

Feast of the Exaltation of Holy Cross to Good Friday matins shall be sung at midnight or thereabouts and from Easter Monday at sunrise or shortly afterwards. Moreover, as every Saturday the Chapter meet—and, indeed, has met at Exeter from time immemorial—at Ottery they should do likewise. Obvious advantages accrued to the whole body from this custom; every official thus knew his place and work for each ensuing week. His ready recognition of the frailty of human nature comes out with much force in Rule 22: "Seeing that even the righteous falleth seven times a day, so that scarcely any one is perfect in thought, speech, and act, every priest before he celebrates should confess to a brother priest specially appointed for this purpose."

As for service books they must not be used before correction; in turning over the leaves dirty fingers should be protected by a bit of surplice; each canon and vicar should have his own altar and no candles or image placed thereon save those which belonged thereto; one cross in the centre and a candlestick each side; candles to be carefully put out lest by negligence he burn up both his colleagues and himself. The Feast of the Assumption had a special charm for de Grandisson, so that in his favourite church, to mark the high honour of the day, he directs that surplices be worn at dinner-time and the Canticle *Magnificat* be read. The Church of Ottery is an exquisite replica of the Mother Church of the Diocese *in parvo*, remaining to the present day a silent but solid witness to the practical munificence and devout intentions of this the wealthiest occupant of the See.

His appreciation also of scholarship did not rest with the purchase of books, or the formation of libraries, or the encouragement of learned men, for though a Collegiate Church, such as that of the Blessed Virgin at Ottery, would necessarily exercise a wide and beneficial influence on all sections of the community in its immediate vicinity, the

dignity of the Cathedral Chapter and their hereditary prestige required larger scope and higher degrees of learning. These could only be obtained by the establishment of a school of high grade in the capital of the county and an institution at the universities in special association with the Hospital at Exeter. In 1314 Bishop de Stapledon had founded Exeter College at Oxford, while there was also ready to his hand in the East gate an ancient foundation of two hundred years standing which in a new guise and under new regulations would easily be adapted to the educational demands of the age. Originally endowed by a wealthy citizen, called William Prodom, in 1170, for the relief of the poor and needy, and richly blessed with the lands and pecuniary gifts of successive Bishops, and other benefactors, it had become so terribly decayed by the time that Bishop Grandisson came to the throne of S. Peter that there remained but one priest on the foundation. In this condition of affairs the Bishop called upon the executors of his two immediate predecessors and one William Martin, whom he describes as "Nobilis vir," to assist him in reorganizing the dilapidated Hospital and raising the number to five priests and twelve poor sick persons. From this re-constitution to the present time, through cloud and sunshine, spoliation and success, S. John's Hospital has preserved its character as a school which has both nurtured and produced some of the finest scholars of which Exeter has had reason to be proud. Richard the last of the Priors surrendered his house into the King's hands in 1540 for a pension of £16 13s. 4d., and the same year was so lucky as to obtain the Vicarage of Brampford Speke. Through such foundations as those of Ottery and S. John's the children of the yeomen and the commercial class in the larger towns of the Diocese came under the direct influence of the Church, and after their education was completed returned to their native city or village to make compensation to the school from which they had gained their

earliest honors, by fresh endowments. Not unfrequently one family has generation after generation been thus represented on the honour list of both school and university, shewing, as it were, the continuity and excellence of foundations which are emphatically the best and highest testimony to the Church's work. The tender terms in which provision was sometimes made for a continuance of the good work confessedly done in these mediæval seminaries may well be shewn by a brief quotation from the preamble to the Act by which Henry VIII. refounded Ottery School. It states that the King, out of his particular love and affection for his young subjects of his County of Devon and for their instruction in more polite learning, had erected a free Grammar school in the parish, under one schoolmaster, for ever, and ordained that it should be called the King's New Grammar School, granting an annuity of £10, limiting the schoolmaster's holidays to one month a year, and placing it under the management of four governors and eight assistants The offices of vicar-chaplain, priest and schoolmaster were at the beginning of this century merged in the person of the Rev. John Coleridge, a name of untarnished honor and held in high respect throughout the whole county.

But the history of Exeter as a diocese would be sadly incomplete were no further notice taken of the College which has been the Alma Mater without doubt of some of the most famous scholars, lawyers and priests upon the records of English history. The foundation of the college was on this wise. Edward II. granted license of mortmain to Richard brother of Bishop de Stapledon, allowing him to give an acre of land in Drayneck in Gwinnear in Cornwall, with the advowson of Gwinnear, to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter to hold for the support of twelve poor scholars studying at Oxford. The license bears date May 24, 1314. The uncertainty of the times seems to have made an impression both on the mind of

Bishop Stapledon and of Bishop Grandisson, for while the latter in his purchase of the manor of Radway contemplated the subsequent spoiling of the emoluments of the See by Royal rapacity—an example of prescience not unworthy of remark—Bishop Walter II. appears to have had his doubts as to the permanence of the University in its ancient haunts, and stipulates that the proceeds of the Rectory of Gwinnear shall go to these poor scholars only so long as the University shall remain within the same borough or within the kingdom of England. If the Chapter delayed payment, 40s. were to go to the Holy Land and 40s. more to the Bishop's alms. Without any delay Hart Hall was now granted by Richard de Wydeslade, Precentor of Crediton, but that site proving too small S. Stephen's Hall was obtained from Peter de Skelton, and a tower was subsequently built there, with a gate underneath, which now opens into Broad Street. In a short time other and larger tenements were annexed, and in 1326, by permission of the Bishop of Lincoln, the chapel was consecrated by the founder himself, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, S. Peter and S. Thomas the Martyr. According to the statutes which were accepted by the Rector and scholars in 1316, there were to be thirteen Fellows, twelve studying philosophy and the thirteenth a chaplain-priest reading Scripture or Canon Law, eight being chosen from Devon and four from the Archdeaconry of Cornwall. The Chaplain was always to be chosen by the Chapter of Exeter; fellowships were virtually tenable for less than fourteen years. Many are the amusing incidents and tales related of eminent men who from their entrance into this college obtained high preferment in Church and State. John Prideaux, Rector in 1612, used to say:—"If I could have been parish clerk of Ugborough, I should never have been Bishop of Worcester." On failing to obtain the office of parish clerk, he had been advised to come up as a poor scholar to Exeter College. The success of William

Gifford is another instance of the great benefits conferred by these ancient endowments of long-forgotten bishops. First of all a cabin boy, then an apprentice to a shoemaker at Ashburton, he rose from being a scholar at Exeter to an exalted position in the political and literary world.

The end of the same century witnessed many changes both in public and private opinions as to the teachings of Wiclif, and Fellows of Exeter were not ashamed to openly avow their sympathy with the socialist heretic. Foremost of these was Laurence Stevine (*alias* Bedeman), against whom Bishop Brantingham found it necessary to issue a mandate, warning his beloved Priors of Launceston and Bodmin and the official of his Peculiar jurisdiction in Cornwall, where it seems he had been preaching, of this fox, lest he worry the sheep of the fold, and enjoining them to find out what he had taught and who the persons were, their condition, state and honour, whoever they may be who think of the Catholic Faith otherwise than they should. This warning was enough to frighten Mr. Bedeman into conformity, and ere long he became Rector of Lifton.

When the revival of learning brought strangers and foreigners to the University, Exeter was not behindhand in welcoming them to her walls. Where William Grocyn taught Greek, there Richard Croke stayed, and Colet was entertained as an honourable guest, and Cornelius Vitelli found a lodging. At this juncture moreover we come upon the names of two men who, as members of the College and also as canons of the Cathedral Church, became better known in the more chequered days of the Reformation era. These are Moreman and Crispin. The former was a firm opponent of Queen Catherine's divorce. He held the Vicarage of Menheniot, and was imprisoned by Edward VI. He was held in high esteem by the Cornish people. Their demand in 1549 ran on this wise: —"We will have Dr. Moreman and Dr. Crispin, which hold

our opinions to be safely sent to us, and to them we require the King's Majesty to give some certain livings to preach among us our Catholic Faith." Cranmer evidently thought that so impudently-worded a demand needed a Scriptural rebuke, for his reply was nothing less severe than the Lord's censure to the disciples on the road to Emmaus: "O foolish and ignorant men of Cornwall." Canon Moreman, however, was known and beloved in Cornwall for his exertions as a schoolmaster and religious teacher, his praises being sung by no less an authority than John Hooker, the famous Chamberlain of Exeter, who bears testimony in no equivocal terms to his persistent labours in the cause of elementary religious education in his parish and neighbourhood. The Injunctions of 1536 had directed that the people should learn the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, and this he had ever faithfully done in even previous times. Another interesting fact may be mentioned in connection with Exeter College. It has been suggested that from the names of places which occur in the few Cornish plays which remain to the present time being near Bishop Bronscombe's foundation of Glasney or Penryn, of which the Fellows were frequently provosts, they may have written them at Oxford. The most remarkable of these Miracles and plays has survived until this present day in the MSS. Ordinalia, hereafter referred to.

The first proceedings taken by Queen Elizabeth to test the loyalty of the Oxford Colleges resulted in the discovery that its allegiance to the newly-imposed form of religion was extremely weak, and when a few years later Exeter College was formally visited there were but four members out of eighty who were not open or secret enemies of the Crown. Of these four score Popish recusants one Savage was the most notorious and uncompromising. In the western parts Popery greatly prevailed, "the gentry being bred up in that religion."

As might be expected the Stuart period witnessed the

innovation of many different persons and manners. In the time of James I. a certain Anthony Lapthorne was Fellow, his strong Puritan tendencies bringing upon him the severest condemnation of Archbishop Laud. Of his brother clergy he ever spoke in the most disrespectful terms, calling those in his neighbourhood idle shepherds, dumb dogs and soul-murderers. He only read the Litany in Lent, and when he reached the Psalms would go up straight into the pulpit, leaving out all the rest of the service. Space, however, forbids our narrating the later history of this the, in all respects, most valuable educational establishment of those which grateful posterity owes to the far-seeing munificence of the Bishops of Exeter.

But to return to the work of disciplinary reform which marked the rule of de Grandisson. It would ill have suited his notions of proportion had he himself as Bishop of the See admitted the rights of his Metropolitan when exercised in contravention of Canon Law and custom, but still greater injury would be done to the Cathedral Church and Diocese were the slightest insult offered to his own personal dignity or honor by one of the dignitaries. Now it happened that quarrels frequently arose in Cathedrals between the Treasurer and the Chapter as to the expenses of the different altars, the supply of lights, bread, wine and other requisites. As the number of altars increased (once in the fourteenth century as many as sixteen altars were consecrated at one time by special request of the Countess of Devon) the arrangements necessarily became highly complicated, with the result that proceedings were taken and an appeal lodged with the Roman Court. Treasurer Brock had it seems been accused by the Chapter of systematic and unprincipled extortions; a schedule of his charges and of counter-charges was filed. The notes of both parties in the case remain to this day, and very curious food they furnish for reflection on the customs of the time and the

condition of thought and feeling in a stately Church with a wealthy and learned body of men.

Anyhow we read from this quaint document that to say the very least the position was painfully strained between Bishop de Grandisson and the Treasurer of his own day, for on one occasion the Bishop seized the key of the Treasury out of the hand of his proctor and refused to give it up, saying that he was afraid the Treasurer would sell the Church books to pay the costs of the suit. There is a touch of satire in the marginal note at this passage: "Tanto pejus." Nor was Bishop de Grandisson by any means weak of purpose or execution when need required. The reception which Archbishop Mepham received at the great western door of the Cathedral Church of Exeter was in all probability the chief cause of his rapid and fatal illness. The Bishop met him with weapons both spiritual and physical, an armed retinue barring his entry to the Church and the Bishop producing, as additional and unanswerable argument, briefs yet hot-sealed from his old friend and patron John XXII. It was probably from this somewhat unscrupulous Pontiff that our prelate imbibed that exaggerated estimate of the value of hard cash which led to his enforcing by episcopal mandate a strict testamentary obligation upon all his clergy, as to the disposal of their effects.

The will of Bishop de Grandisson, as illustrating the position of a prelate of the English Church, may not be unworthy of notice. Many of the most eminent men both in Church and State who in the performance of their duty have, as a matter of unavoidable etiquette, taken part in elaborate and gorgeous functions had strongly deprecated and indeed forbidden any such extravagances at their own obsequies. In this spirit de Grandisson, the most magnificent as also the most noble of the princes ecclesiastical of the English Church, forbids any approach to lavish or even ordinary expenditure at his funeral.

The poor of the city were to be the immediate recipients of his posthumous bounty. One hundred poor persons were to be clothed for that occasion; on the eve or morrow of his funeral money and bread were to be distributed to the sick prisoners and other needy suppliants within the city. To every Church and person with which he had been in any way connected bequests of proper and proportionate value were left. Neither King nor Pope were ignored; Edward III. and Urban V. each had their costly memento of their loyal clerk; the Black Prince, the Princess Blanche, and John Duke of Lancaster also received each one a piece of plate or a jewel. There remains, however, one book which speaks perhaps more vividly than any gem of the peculiar characteristics of Bishop Grandisson, namely, his Psalter. This beautiful Manuscript bears—as indeed do all the books which he specially loved—the marks of his own devout study. It is impossible to mistake that firm majuscular sign manual. Every Act, statute, Visitation deed, and mandate which for any manner of reason needed his autograph bears the impress of his uncompromising decision. The very Registers of the bishops who preceded him were annotated by the same strong hand; nor is the pious determination of the man's mind lost sight of in the bold dashing style in which he concludes the Articles of the Visitation of his Cathedral Church:

"CONFIRMA HOC DEUS QUOD OPERATUS ES IN NOBIS."

To complete a church as beautiful as any in "the strange country of barbarians" in which Grandisson found himself, was a magnificent and to this very day a worthy work; but to order the offices of religion on a comely system and in decent and decorous order assimilate the daily services of the sanctuary to those of the noblest churches of the Italian rule was in his eyes a no less necessary and laudable work. This he took in hand within a few years of his installation in the See of Leofric, and by 1337 had drawn up with his own hand

an Order and Consuetudinary by which he intended that not only in the Mother Church but where feasible in the country churches all the sacred functions of religion should be henceforth regulated. To expunge all the local peculiarities of Exeter Use would be injudicious, but to introduce all that might conduce to agreement with the common uses of Catholic Christendom was imperative. Accordingly with the consent of the Dean and Chapter he published the Ordinale now in the Cathedral library, and prefaced it with some thirty rubrics on the main points of custom and ritual which he wished to make henceforth obligatory on every member both clerical and lay of the Cathedral Corporation. The higher the office held by any one the greater the responsibility and the heavier the obligation, but from Dean to choir boy and Dignitary to bell-ringer no mitigation of the highest principles of honor and devotion could be tolerated Irregularities of residence, frivolous conversation or riotous conduct were, as might be expected, strongly condemned; but the lofty ground on which he establishes the ideal for religious worship is taken from no less authorities than S. Augustine, S. Jerome and S. Bernard.

Time and tune were of great importance in the musical portion of the services. It may be true that these regulations are none others than the old familiar Rule of S. Osmund of Salisbury, but if they do represent it, it may well be said that this form of the Exeter Pie is far richer in points and delicate details of ritual.

Each different phase and phrase of worship bears the impress of a mind deeply versed in the special sciences of sacred rite and possessed of a vivid and brightly dramatic ingenuity, as on Christmas, Good Friday and Whit Sunday. Common practical sense was allowed full scope in certain limits, such as where de Grandisson deprecates censing the tombs of all the Bishops and suggests that the silk copes should be spared at funerals and

black worn instead or even other colours, if unpronounced, so as to save them.

In some instances reasons are adduced for the use of a certain colour. On the Feast of Decollation of John Baptist violet is advised because he went down into "hell," and on Corpus Christi day the idea of bread and wine is to be graphically depicted before the assembled faithful by vestments of white and red.

The local saints, such as SS. Brannoc, Petrock, Kerian and Sidwell, have only rank among simple festivals, and in some instances it would seem as if the last-named Saxon martyr would have to yield to Stephen Bp. and martyr, the fact being that in all probability her special cult had disappeared from disuse as had also the Feast of Relics.

That organs were in use here is undeniable as provision is repeatedly made for accompaniment or prelude to the antiphons. In matters however of the music scores and books Sarum receives due honor as the standard of reference by which all the singing at Exeter is to be written.

One old antiphonary, called Grantson after the more euphonious abbreviated pronunciation of his hereditary family name and castle in Herefordshire, claimed positive obedience. If there were in use in the Church any books of different use they must be forthwith corrected so that all cause for "dissonance" might cease.

At this point the ordinale, properly so called, commences. Amongst the first orders is that as to the use of the somewhat mysterious neupma or prolongation of a melody, which is prohibited during the penitential seasons of the year, as more specially significant of the jubilant seasons of the Church.

To students of the Book of Common Prayer no liturgical work yields richer gems of illustration, nothing seeming beneath the thoughtful notice of the Bishop, who admits the reader into his own treasury of historical precedents and analogies

without scruple or reserve. This holds specially true of his vocal directions, for which he frequently gives adequate reasons. His devotion to the Virgin finds expression in the reduplicated specifications emphatically repeated as to the special offices to which she was entitled in her Chapel *in capite ecclesie*, a fact which every reader of mediæval history may quietly accept without any fanatical declamations when he considers the far greater lengths to which her cult has extended in the year of grace 1890, in the continental churches in allegiance with Rome.

Proceeding through this remarkable Directorium we find at an early stage allusions to the New Lectionary which synchronously the Bishop had compiled for use with his ordinale. A close collation of the extracts herein prescribed from the sermons of the Fathers with the present printed editions which we are now in the habit of reading will amply reward any student of mediæval paleography or sacred history. The variations of reading, textual emendations, elisions, and curious re-adaptations suggest the deepest astonishment at the time and study which the Bishop or his chaplain must have devoted to the work.

The two volumes of Lessons selected for the ordinary course of reading on week days as also on all festivals of different degree are splendid massive books, written and illuminated with the utmost delicacy and accuracy, bound in oak and sheep skin, with the original clasps and tags, in almost as perfect condition as when first brought into the Cathedral Church more than 500 years ago. Moreover, they bear the signature of the honorable and indefatigable donor, and on many pages corrections in his own unmistakeable writing.

Among the most singular testimonies to this Bishop's constant appreciation of documentary evidences as the bulwarks of the Church and her property, appears in Volume 2 of the Legenda, the famous deed of Edward the Confessor, which so

circumstantially relates the transference of the See from Crediton to Exeter and the attendant circumstances. Alternative lessons are provided for many festivals, with full rubrical directions, assigning the reasons for their selection.

Special prayers are arranged and selected for all the festivals of the Blessed Virgin.

If it is pleaded by some that a multitudinous variety of ritual directions must infallibly lead to confusion and error, it may, on the other hand, be said that nothing mars Divine worship so much as slipshod indifference to or ignorance of the main theories of Christian devotion, and that reason and simplicity need never be divorced in the conduct of the holiest functions of the priesthood in the Sanctuary.

Such were some of the rules laid down by this ingenious Prelate. All antiphons, as at Christmas, should be begun by the highest official present, and so on through all down to the sub-deacons. In reading lessons the elder and more dignified should always read the last, the earlier being read by the youngest, and so on from lesson 1 to 9.

The rules as regards lights, memorials and commemorations are given with the utmost precision and accuracy, but need a practised eye to follow the complications.

So many of the ancient hymns of the Church have now been translated and placed in "Hymns, Ancient and Modern" that it would be extremely suggestive if such as had been specially sung by appointment in old days on certain festivals and Saints' days were now restored to use. Two tables showing the order in which the hymns may now be sung throughout the year are given in the Appendix.

Unfortunately this invaluable book of ritual reference has not escaped the ravages of too enthusiastic ecclesiologists, folio 9 having been torn out altogether and folio 1 from the inner top corner to the outer edge. During the 15th century it appears to have been used as a note book, where, as oppor-

tunity allowed, storms, comets, the burning of heretics, defeat of Perkin Warbeck and entry of Henry VII into Exeter being firmly written at the foot of the monthly calendar, which precedes the Consuetudinary. The first page being a fair specimen of late 14th century illumination, the capital E bearing a shield left for the Grandisson arms which here, as in his Lectionaries, it was intended to insert. The ornamentation in other respects merely contains a few grotesques. Glimpses, however, are frequently obtained of facts of great interest, as when de Grandisson says (fol. 27b.) that on Christmas Day the Pontiff says all three Masses, if he possibly can.

His allusion to the boy Bishop is very instructive, a custom which we know lasted sometime into the 16th century at Exeter, the margin allowed in the following rubric being, it must be confessed, slightly indefinite. After compline the Episcopus Puerorum is to say some Benediction, provided it be solemn, at his own discretion *(ad placitum)*. It was evidently assumed that after their religious dissipations on Holy Innocents' Day the choir boys would be tired, for it is specially provided that on the Eve of S. Thomas of Canterbury Benedicamus might be said by three of the Secondaries as the boys would probably be in bed.

On running the eye over the pages of this exquisite book we find constant erasions and words cut out of the MS. marking the accurate and weary task which the Royal Commissioners undertook when, at the bidding of the uxorious despot after his quarrel with the Pope, they were sent to cut out from every office book the hateful name of S. Thomas of Canterbury.

Right well indeed did they accomplish their work: not once did the odious champion of the Papacy escape their detection; but no less rigidly and systematically did the Cathedral clergy re-insert the name, when "the naughty time of schism" ended, in the person of Tuguberville the old glories of the Catholic Church were restored from 1555 to 1559.

To the few students of English liturgies who are familiar with the more difficult but important points it is no news to be told that of old Sundays bore the name of the first words of the "Histories" read on such days: 1st Epiphany Sunday was called *Dominus ne in ira.*

These are all fully described and explained for the year, with all the possible contingencies which might arise.

So also are plain directions given as to the proper time to begin all the books of the Old Testament and the Epistles.

The due order and system for Responsions, Versicles and Commemorations are fully dilated on and enforced, every concurrence or occurrence within reasonable limits being contemplated and forestalled. The spirit in which this was done may fairly be exemplified in the case of S. Wenefred (fol. 75b) which remains as an incontestable proof that this very copy of Grandisson's Use was in reference for at least sixty years after his death.

The motto, which acts as a quasi apology for the extravagant canon, and interruption on the old Use is written as a footnote to this date in the Ordinale.

Que de novo emergunt novo indigent consilio; a very useful apothegm under the circumstances.

And yet the book itself, interesting as it is for a relic of local mediæval liturgies, would not have merited so large a notice had it not been that while at this period Cathedral Chapters (as in Scotland) sent to Sarum and Lincoln for Uses adaptable to their wants, the Bishop who next came into Devonshire, though much more suited for a courtier than a Prelate, as soon as he was released from attendance on Parliament and the Privy Council not only set himself to grant the Vicars Choral a distinctly separate hostel with a kitchen and all other necessaries and to complete the cloisters and library (already richly filled with splendid volumes), but on Dec 2, 1391, sent his Chancellor, John Lugans, with an Ordinale or

Use of Sarum as a present to the Dean and Chapter desiring them to accept and use it. The Dean, Ralph Tregrisiow, was in no temper to receive such a hint, and without any discussion left the Chapter House. So Hugh Hycheling took the chair and adjourned the meeting, so that more canons might discuss the subject. They came together again on Dec 4, when the Dean and and all the Canons present, after a scrutiny, admitted the said Ordinale and undertook to observe the same "except in so far as their customs and observances were different from the Use of Sarum and conduced more to the glory of God and the honor of the Church, provided also that the Archbishop should allow this Ordinale as he had allowed their ancient Use, and that nothing therein contained was contrary to the rights, statutes and customs of their Church or those of the Dean, nor the advantage of the Vicars and other ministers of the Church." At the same time there was evidently strong political feeling introduced into even the services of the Cathedral, the Vicars who were responsible for the prayers used in the Church omitting the usual suffrages for the King, for, as they no doubt thought, in excellent reason, his partiality for that pestilential plague of Lollards which threatened to undermine the wealth and health of the old Catholic Church was a damning disqualification. Indeed the omission had become so serious that on December 7th, 1392, the Dean advised and insisted that the Vicars in the Ember seasons on week days and always should say prayers for the Lord King and for peace as is done in all the Cathedral Churches of the Province of Canterbury which are ruled by the Use of Sarum, and as this apparently was ineffectual he enjoined them all most forcibly on January 29th, 1391-2, on no account to omit the said prayers, "as they would incur the severe displeasure of their Lord the King."

From these and many other similar notes it is clear that while the Canons personally and corporately upheld the Crown

and Monarchy, a spirit of lawless and disorderly contempt and impatience of restraint prevailed amongst the class from which the clerks were drawn. The terrors, however, of these threats were not calculated to alarm the illiterate or dissolute who fell under his wrath, the Bishop's prison being specially arranged for the escape of criminals who hesitated no more to commit murder than theft, for at least on two occasions during this episcopate five or six prisoners, delivered by the King's Justices for safe custody in the prison adjoining the Chapel of St. James on the south of the Cathedral, managed to escape. His negligence was promptly overlooked or pardoned. Without any singular exhibition of ability or churchmanship, Bishop Brantingsham died at Clist in 1394, and had not his chantry been removed it would have drawn many a weary traveller to a quiet corner near his tomb opposite the north door, where now nothing but a small brass records the burying place of the Lord High Treasurer.

LACY. A D. 1420.

CHAPTER V.

There are not many Deans who, like John Halse, would prefer the subordinate dignity of the president of a refractory and irreconcilable corporation of Canons to the then paramount supremacy and wealth of the Bishopric. But in all probability the See of Exeter would have fared at least as well under his sceptre as it did under the brief reign of George Nevyll, the absentee, who passed less than a year in his diocese, leaving it in 1459, never to return.

Brother to Warwick the Kingmaker, his appointment to the Archbishoprick of York was a natural consequence of their allegiance to King Edward IV., where, in a climate more congenial to his peculiarities than Devonshire, he was installed with lavish prodigality.

Of John Bothe, whose interests had mainly been centred in the same diocese of the Northern Province, it is enough to know that, though his register was very imperfectly kept, his courtesy and liberality were on a par with his knowledge of

law, though for many generations the inimitable Episcopal Throne within the choir of Exeter has served to keep his memory green.

While the rest of the kingdom was rent asunder by the disastrous conflicts between the rival Houses of York and Lancaster, the West of England enjoyed comparative repose, warfare, if any, being on questions of jurisdiction, weapons, legal precedents and mighty words. The combatants in this wordy but costly battle were the Commonalty and the Chapter in one instance, in another the Mayor, for to him, indeed, apparently appertains the *magna pars belli* and the Bishop, with whom were joined the Dean and Chapter again. So that in fact the 15th century, while fruitful of brave men willing by sea to defend their country from the French Fleet under Sir Edward Courtenay and Sir Peter Carew, was no less capable of producing men of the stamp of John Shillingford amongst townsmen, unsparing in personal devotion, enthusiastic in the cause of official prerogative, even in the Highest Courts of the Realm.

Made Mayor under violent and even Royal pressure, John of Shillingford, a village a few miles from the capital city, set himself at once to assert the ancient rights of the city of which he was the chief officer.

Possibly the completion by Bishop Brantingham of the western façade of the Cathedral appeared to him as to the Chapter a challenge to the municipal authorities: probably he eyed with jealousy the hourly development of the ecclesiastical prestige and influence under the vigorous patronage of such wealthy and noble Prelates as Grandisson, Brentingham and Stafford, to the detriment of the civic power. The Guildhall was then in a most dilapidated condition. As long back as 200 years, the first of these disputes as to S. Sidwell's Fee had been, as was supposed, concluded by a composition at Launceston before Richard Earl of Cornwall, Richard the

Bishop and certain justices of the King's peace, by which the city had, it would have been thought, secured all the privileges to which she was entitled. These had been by the 15th century, in some sense either by neglect or mutual connivance, infringed, but the deference due and the somewhat irritating obligations which would assuredly be tolerated or even paid by an easy-going Mayor, were utterly hateful to John Shillingford, and, at a period when all the ecclesiastical tenures were precarious, it was not a bad move to test the corporate rights of the Church. He wished to bring things to a crisis. The Bishop's tenants had defied the Mayor's authority. One Hugh Lucas—one of the most mis-governed men in all the City of Exeter—had made an affray on Richard Wode, in High Street, and been arrested by the Sergeant-at-Mace. Escaping from his custody, he had fled to the Cathedral. The Cathedral clergy did not hesitate to bring forth weapons of unmistakeable defence and beat off the civic officials.

The suit was postponed from term to term. The Mayor, losing no effort or argument to carry the day and shewing such unsparing zeal and industry that the Bishop, finding he had but poor chance of carrying his point, procured a Privy Seal from the King, ordering the matter to be decided by the arbitration of Lord Chancellor Kempe, Archbishop of York and the two Chief Justices—Sir J. Fortescue and Sir R. Newton. The Mayor pleaded, but in vain, that such action was contrary to Magna Charta: in vain they petitioned the Lord Chancellor and the matter was at last compromised by the award of Sir Philip Courtenay and Sir W. Bonville.

The Articles presented by the Mayor insisted solemnly on the fact that long before the Cathedral ever existed the city had been possessed of the whole fee within its walls, and that "soon after the passion of Christ was by Vaspasian besieged by tyme of VIII days: the whiche opteynyd not the effects of

his sege:" This reference to the Roman Emperor considerably tickled the legal mind; and notwithstanding timely presents of fish and persistent pushings of his case, the unfortunate Mayor lost the day.

Whether his violent exertions or natural disappointment hastened the end of this determined upholder of the civic power we know not, but, in the midst of his endeavours to build Exe Bridge and generally amend the structural and constitutional conditions of the city, he died suddenly.

Shortly afterwards King Henry, on his tour through the West, made his way to Exeter, being met by the nobles of the county at Honiton Clist, then by the Mayor and Commonalty, and lastly at Liverydole by the clergy of the city, was conducted into the city, where the Mayor delivered him the keys. Thence to St. Michael's gate, where with much pomp he was welcomed by the Cathedral body.

It would be needless to refer to the disturbances throughout the other parts of the kingdom between the rival parties, inasmuch as Exeter did not, as a city, publicly espouse the cause of either side, but the mischief of these internecine quarrels were brought nearer home when the Cathedral cemetery became the scene of the bloody encounters between the youthful partisans of York and Lancaster. These occurred frequently about this time, and in 1459 St. Peter's was closed until the church and yard had been reconciled by Thomas Bishop, of Bath. The city and church being called upon by Queen Margaret to come to the rescue of the King a considerable amount of money was raised, and for a brief interval one ray of hope shone on the Lancastrian party. It was not, however, till 1472 that the tide of civil war swept up to the gates of Exeter, when the Queen Margaret, landing at Weymouth, elicited the gallantry of the Devon and Cornish nobles, who, with her, suffered the lamentable defeat of

Tewkesbury, which left the Earl of Devon, with many others of similar rank and 3,000 men, dead on the field.

Then appeared Edward in the city and met with so abject and generous a welcome that, taking his sword from his side, he presented it to the Mayor.

Within another ten years Richard III. was on the throne, and, after the execution and attainder of some of the most eminent men, also entered the city to receive as his predecessors the same humble homage from the civic authorities.

Henry VII., after the victory of Bosworth, ascended the throne, but in less than 12 years Lambert Simnel's rebellion, having been scarcely quelled, a rebellion arose in Cornwall under Flammanck and Joseph of Bodmin, who marched as far as Blackheath, being joined on the way by Lord Dudley: here their rash enterprise came to a disastrous end and was succeeded by the attempts of another Pretender, Perkin Warbeck, who, also meeting with little success in the East of England, ingeniously passed over to Ireland and thence crossing to Cornwall, so far prevailed with the Cornishmen as to rally 3,000 round his standard, and, under the advice of his principal counsellors, marched on Exeter. Before the arrival of the King the county noblemen, under Lord Daubeny, had raised the siege, the rebels hurrying off to Taunton; a large number being sent to Exeter, the King, who in return for the acclamations of the loyal citizens had assured them of his great personal gratitude, went with the clergy to the treasurer's house, which, as may now be seen by the mark of the gable on the walls, adjoined the north tower of the Cathedral. The leaders were ordered for immediate execution on Southernhay; the rest, brought before him with halters round their necks, fell upon their knees and begged for mercy.

After an ominous pause the King admonished the poor wretches as to their future obedience, and, to the joy of the

spectators, who joined the prisoners in loud shouts of "Long live King Henry VII.," pardoned them all.

The King also presented his sword to the Mayor, newly elected under the new Charter, and a Cap of Maintenance, now carried in civic processions.

In the meantime the condition of affairs in the Church had suffered nothing by the appointment of Edmund Lacy in 1419, in succession to Stafford, the Episcopate of Catterick, being nothing more than *nominis umbra*, for he never even entered the diocese, being buried in 1419 under the central dome of the Francescan Church of St. Croce at Florence.

Lacy was translated from Hereford and in various ways left his name stamped upon the Diocese of Exeter. Anxious for the better treatment of the minor official corporation of his Cathedral Church, he appropriated the Rectory of Cornwood to the College of Vicars, nor did he ignore the claims of his munificent predecessor de Grandisson, for he granted the Church of Ipplepen to his favourite foundation at Ottery. As a builder of no mean pretensions, he raised the then somewhat undignified Chapter House at Exeter to its present exquisite proportion, and in London built the great hall in the Episcopal residence in Exeter House in the Strand.

His gifts of plate shewed a mind appreciative of symmetry and decency in Divine worship in the great typical church of the diocese.

A chalice of pure gold (weighing 23 ounces), two golden cruets, two silver basins (gilt and enamelled), several splendid vestments, tapestries and carpets, as well as books, were among his gifts.

But his liturgical interests found scope yet another way. He composed a special office in honour of the Archangel Raphael, following in the steps of Grandisson again, who had shewn special attention to the claims of the Archangel Gabriel. In no less than three dioceses this service received admiring

approval, as it unquestionably supplied a want in the Breviary, the ideal office of this Archangel being the reverse of that of St. Gabriel.

Archbishop Boothe, writing from Southwell in 1454 that he had adopted this service for his Cathedral, acknowledged Lacy's generous donation of certain rich sets of vestments and £20 for the Vicars of his church.

To Hereford his gifts were, as might be expected, more munificent, for they included a set of High Mass vestments, three copes of red velvet with orphreys of gold and frontlets worked with falcons for the High Altar, and two collateral Altars, valued at over 200 marks. Bishop Beauchamp at Salisbury also adopted the said office, and at Chichester the Provincial Chapter of the Franciscans also adopted it. The Pope had appointed the Chancellor of Exon, John Snetsham, under whose cognizance such innovations would naturally come for approval, with six others to examine and report on the new office of St. Raphael. They declared that they had diligently examined it and found nothing therein dissonant with sacred Scripture or the canonical institutions, and therefore, by the Apostolical authority committed unto them, decreed that the service of St. Raphael the Archangel which had been instituted to the honour of the Most High Trinity, the praise of the Blessed (Saints) and specially of the aforesaid Raphael the Archangel, and to the increase and augmentation of Christian devotion no less than to the assistance and relief of the Church militant, had their entire approval and sanction.

It is in many respects a great misfortune that in no service book at present existing at Exeter has this remarkable compilation of a 15th century Prelate been found, nor in any of the immense volumes which compose the Registers of Bishop Lacy—volumes written with the utmost precision and accuracy throughout. There does, however, remain one book, which, as it is typical of many of the same period and is in

many respects remarkable for its condition and contents, may here well be described.

This is the Pontifical of Edmund Lacy, a substitutional improvement on the order of Episcopal offices which William Warelwast had ordered in his church 200 years before. The discrepancies from the ordinary Roman use are in many respects notable as in the use of the Maniple and mitre in ordinary use and at Pontifical Mass, as also at the consecration of a church, when instead of the seven Penitential Psalms being used, only the 85th and 131st of the Vulgate are set down. The order also as to the arrangements at the Diocesan Synod is worthy of mark: in the midst of the clergy are to be set the feretory with relics and a stole and a complete copy of the Gospels. The Church of England ignored the Roman order in the consecration of Bishops whereat the Elect Prelate offers two lighted torches, two loaves and two small barrels of wine, though at Exeter such a symbolical ordinance would have been much to the mind of de Grandisson.

The infirmities of Lacy had reached the ears of King Henry VII. in the very year of the Bishop's death, for he writes to the Chapter from Windsor that "by the reporte of our trusty and right welbeloved Counsellor, Master Piers Courtenay," they were grievous and it was desirable to arrange the Bishop's domestic affairs.

Now this Peter Courtenay was the younger son of Sir Philip Courtenay, of Powderham Castle, who, after the usual course at Oxford and Padua, had returned to England and was made Archdeacon of Exeter in 1453, holding therewith the Vicarage of Moreton, which in 1475 he exchanged for the Archdeaconry of Wilts with the Canonry of Beer Regis and Charminster. As secretary to the King, he was soon also installed Dean of Windsor, and in 1477 returned to his native city as Dean of St. Peter's, with which he held the living of Menheniot, the patronage being then given to Exeter College.

The next year, consecrated Bishop of the same church, he found it advisable to put his services at the disposal of the Earl of Richmond, who promptly translated him to the chair of St. Swithin, though he lived but nine years to enjoy his rapid advancement, his brother Walter, attached to the same party in politics, receiving for his allegiance and in compensation for his losses, amongst other properties, Feniton, Coryton, Tincreek and Newton in St. Mellion's.

The martial valor of a Courtenay had never been disputed. Sir Piers de Courtenay, 6th son of Hugh, second Earl of Devon, with Sir Philip his brother, had amply proved their courage in the Spanish expedition under the Duke of Lancaster in 1378. Both were seriously wounded, Sir Piers gaining an high honour in the lists with the flower of the French Chevaliers. It is rather with that branch of the family which in the annals of the Church has left its mark that our interest now lies. Richard Courtenay, Lord Bishop of Norwich, had been adopted by his Uncle Archbishop William, and, as his son and foster child, received a legacy of 100 marks, and, as with prophetic generosity, the vestments also of his somewhat anomalous relative, "if it happen he should be a Bishop." The duties of Chaplain to his King took him into France, where Henry was besieging Harfleur, and there he died, more happy in this respect than his kinsman, Lord Edward, unfortunate son of a very unfortunate father. In early life an object of Royal favour, advanced to the Marquisate of Exeter, his indiscreet correspondence with Cardinal Pole, forfeited for him not merely the good pleasure of Henry VIII., but his own head, his exertions in the Royal cause against the Yorkshire rebels being accounted as nothing in the balance with suspicion of treason.

A person of lively aspect, beautiful body, sweet nature and Royal descent, there was but this only impediment to the once proposed union of the next noble Earl Devon with the eldest

sister of Edward VI.—his inclination to Lutheran principles. Mary, with the modesty of a maiden but the majesty of a Queen, had told him as much, but, his face being better than his fortune, he incautiously suggested her sister Elizabeth as a suitable object of his affections, little foreseeing the trouble in which he thereby involved this amiable Princess and his own disgrace. With him the Earldom of Devon ceased after ten descents, his estates being divided among the heirs of that first-mentioned Lord Edward's four sisters. Of these Florence was married to John Trelawny, ancestor in direct line of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, of Pelynt, Lord Bishop of Exon in 1688.

Through Sir W. Courtenay, the present Earldom of Devon is held by Henry Hugh, Rector of Powderham, brother of the late Earl, of well loved memory.

A word must be said of Archbishop Courtenay. Like many a scion of noble blood, his way to high preferment at an early age was paved by three Prebends in the Churches of Exeter, York and Wilts while yet in *statu pupillari* at Oxford, and after holding the Chancellorship there for three years he was promoted to the See of Hereford, and thence in his 34th year to that of London, where (as during his Archbishopric) he continued the most unsparing persecution of the tenets of Wiclifle. Of the family of Courtenay so intimately connected with the Church and Diocese of Exeter it is hard to say less than this, that while some who know but a little even of their misfortunes in the past render a willing sympathy in the ancient motto,

"UBI LAPSUS QUID FECI"

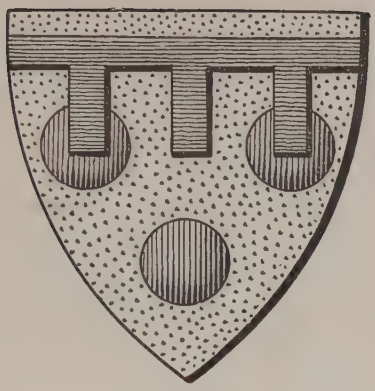
all recognise the unimpeachable grace and honor of the words to be read beneath the escutcheon on the window lately put up in the Cathedral Church of S. Peter—

"QUOD VERUM TUTUM"

If safety and truth can be assured to the present possessor of

that high title by the affections of the citizens of Exeter and of the whole County of Devon, his most assuredly they are, history testifying in terms unmistakeably strong the immemorial associations which have ever existed between the temporal Barons of Powderham and the spiritual Barons of S. Peters—which still (with or without the grudging digression of Gibbon on the family of Courtenay) gather round their noble chantry in the south tower of the mother Church.

There is indeed no name of which it can oe more truly said that it is stamped with honor throughout the Diocese.



CHAPTER VI.

It is not always easy to realise that to the piety of our forefathers and their intense anxiety to teach their posterity and advance the glory of God we owe the most beautiful churches and the most perfect sepulchral monuments and brasses, the finest painted glass and all those works of decorative art which have in part been inherited by this generation.

The Fifteenth Century, though terribly productive of internecine quarrels, no less in the City than throughout the nation, was the period at which church building and wealth reached a climax. Sore lack of preachers there was, heresy and lollardism came in for the most cruel and merciless penalties, but in the Sanctuaries of God men who could neither read nor write cut out sermons, painted homilies and wrought doxologies which spoke to the eye and thence to the spirit better than many a cut and dried lecture of the Caroline and Georgian divines.

The distinctly exegetical office of the Church of England

found unconsciously no more eloquent opportunity than in the fabrics of parish churches. The teachers were the carpenters, masons and smiths of the village, and right well they wrote their lesson in the Sanctuary. They positively triumphed in the surest way and by the surest weapons. Every cut of the chisel and the mallet inscribed a doctrine on the hearts of generations in the country homes of Devon and Cornwall, and this manner of teaching has been carried on like the building of the Temple of Soloman, quietly but surely, from the time of Bishop Bronscombe down to the Episcopate of the present occupant of the See. This must, however, be said in praise of the work of the carpenters of the Plantagenets, that before a Gutenberg or a Caxton was born, the capitals and the screens and the fonts testified to the world that education there was, though not of the School Board type.

If the lancet window and narrow nave and deficiency of ornament distinguished the churches which we are fortunate enough to inherit from the thirteenth century, the fifteenth century has left us churches unequalled in proportion and detail. After these a period supervenes on which the eye cannot but dwell with astonishment. Florid some may call it with its elaborate tabernacle work, pinnacles, finials, crockets and niches over window and doorway and heraldic ornaments shewing the burial place of distinguished prelates and soldiers.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century and the Rebellion of the seventeenth have not eliminated all true marks of the strong Catholic Faith which unquestionably permeated the whole of the Western Peninsula till long after the Tudor period. Even after the Restoration in this nineteenth century they remain, and teach as truly as ever the great doctrines of Christ. The church of Kenton even now, more than in its unrestored condition, represents the Apostolic Symbol combined somewhat irregularly with the Prophetic. It has, perhaps, the most perfect of any of our Devon screens.

The Registers, however, do not commence till 1694.

The country round abounds in churches exquisitely rich in heraldic and historical carvings. The church of Kenn holds first rank as most intimately connected with the family of Courtenay. Here are, as it were, vividly concentrated memorials which speak of the sadly varied fortunes of this Royal race.

Powderham Church, but for its being the resting place of the modern Earls of Devon and the beautiful capitals of the five arches between the nave and the north and south aisles, has little claim to beauty but at Kenn the Church of S. Andrew is full of material records of the mighty dead, pathetically silent witnesses of at least two members of the Courtenay family whose fame and fate are verily remarkable. Catherine, daughter of Edward IV., widow of William, Earl of Devon, was almost the last who exercised the right of patronage when in 1517 she appointed Thomas Michell to the benefice. Daughter, sister and aunt of kings, she was the mother of that all unhappy Henry, created Marquess of Exeter in 1525, who experienced the usual fate which Henry VIII. reserved for his favourites and nearest relations, and in reference to whose shameful end Cardinal Pole said that it was simply attributable to the hatred which the tyrant had for all virtue and nobility.

The original Chantry Chapel as in many other churches now serves as a vestry, but the solid old carved benches remain to their first use untouched. The north and south aisles formerly contained altars, and the screen is almost equal in its elaborate carving and paintings to that of Kenton, the recent additions made by the present vicar giving an effect of great solemnity.

The base of the old cross still remains, though not a page is left of a more perishable bequest left by Thomas Redman, vicar in 1430, of his Missal.

And certainly another church within the same archdeaconry though lacking aristocratic or royal association, yet, under the

patronage of the same Fisher Apostle, claims more than a passing word of admiration. Later in origin, for it was not completed till 1549, the tower of Collumpton rises 100 feet from the ground with pinnacles 20 feet high. Contributions of small amounts are recorded, which teach a moral: such was that of Roger Stockman, clerk, who in 1545 left "so moche to the new Tower as will paye for a foot square." In accordance with this practical custom so full of meaning which has left us so many beautiful specimens of the sculptor's art in parish church as in abbey ruin and restored cathedral, there are here to be seen the arms of England and the statue of Edward VI. representing the Royalty of the day, and Veysey, Bishop of the Diocese, the Spirituality; while the effigy of St. George, the Patron Saint of England, and the figure of the crucified Saviour, though wantonly defaced, call to mind the hope and glory of the National Faith.

Within, the rich and dignified proportions of the gorgeous screen and rood-loft and the grand roof of the lofty nave speak forcibly of the ideas which ruled as to the honour and glory, the pains and wealth due to the Sanctuary. While these triumphs of the builders of 300 years ago tell of living men and their work, a number of well preserved ancient gravestones declare the praises of the yeomen and merchants who had once worshipped God with their means and their spirits. Thus John Lane, whose Chapel is the main feature of the church, is commemorated both by his initials and the instruments and devices of his trade as a wool merchant.

A greater contrast could not be found anywhere in churches so near and yet so far in point of decoration and internal beauty; with the exception of the tower, the parish church of Broadclyst is devoid of any feature or memorials if we except a few unsatisfactory escutcheons of arms and the sepulchral monument of a knight of the Chudleigh family.

When we come to strong towns of old repute, distinctly asso-

ciated with the name of Athelstan, disappointment cannot be concealed at finding but one relic of the Saxon age, and at Paignton only a doorway removed from its original site, if even a digression out of the main road is rewarded by finding effigies, such as that in the Church of S. John the Baptist at Membury, which no doubt represents one of the co-heiresses of the Mohun family. For wealth of monumental effigies not many churches equal that of the small, if famous, Church of S. Blaze at Haccombe, first as the burial place of Sir Stephen de Haccombe, which Bishop Grandisson dedicated with two altars and cemetery in 1328. It contains a perfect crusader with a costly coat of mail, an altar-tomb of Hugh Courtenay and Philippa his wife, the figure of Margaret (lady of Sir Stephen) and a raised tomb with a long cross. At Newton Bushell the Ferrers have left their horse-shoe on the inner moulding of the East window, and the Yards marked their water bouget.

In many of the not insignificant churches belonging to rich bodies like the Dean and Chapter inconsistencies are apparent if not in the design at least in the completion of the building; thus at S. Mary Church, which has been their Peculiar since the days of the Confessor (when probably the lately discovered font was placed therein), while the capitals of six pillars on the north side are boldly carved those on the south are painfully rude. A font of this description with the sculptures would furnish a follower of Ruskin with incomparable objects for a lesson on the progress of mediæval art in England. The church of Kingskerswell offers us a painful example of the white-washer's work, worse than Danish havock. Witheridge escaped this. What wealth of teaching still abides in the Ashton and Bradninch screens!

A few remains of carving at Dunchidock on roof and screen remain, though chopped away at the south end of the rood-loft.

A gravestone at Budleigh betrays the presence of the Raleigh family.

Relics speak of the Kirkham family at Newton St. Cyres, where were quietly ensconced the brothers of an Oratory. At Honiton again turns up the Stafford Knot with curious inscriptions round the capitals of the first pillar.

The altar-tomb at Marwood dates from 1607.

Few are the effigies of priests, but at Axminster (where the families of Drake and Young respectively appropriated the original transepts) of all its ancient Norman and Saxon glory while there is left but a doorway, the ancient effigies in stone remain of Gervaside Prestaller, first vicar, and of Alicia, wife of Reginald de Mohun, lord of the manor, both of the 13th century.

At Tiverton again the Courtenay family crops up. Hugh Courtenay had expressed a wish to be buried here.

Quarterings were generally done by people ignorant of the laws of heraldry, so that in many cases where we find bench ends bearing coats of arms and monuments glowing with escutcheons boldly tricked, they are very misleading if gorgeous in effect.

Amongst the most prominent features of the landscape are the towers of the churches, and to Davidson there seemed districts where there are distinct forms of towers. Such is the middle of Devon. Between Eggesford and Dartmouth, Exmouth and Manaton, the towers are rude and plain; from this many have thought they were Saxon, but the fact is that granite could not be worked easily and the simplicity of the style falsely imparts great age, when most of them date from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Churches round Dartmoor, like Throwleigh under Cawsand Beacon, are severely plain, but there was a screen in this church which is now used as a reredos.

And here very interesting points occur to the observant lover of Devon churches. For instance, though in this district they are

not by any means all of the same date, yet they have certain marked idiosyncrasies in their towers without buttresses, a staircase and turrets; while two have what may well be called shew fronts; that is more elaborate carving was given to that side which looked towards the village, as at Denbury, South Bovey and Stoke Gabriel.

Then we may note the towers without buttresses but with square staircase turret, as at Clannaborough; for towers without buttresses but with octagonal turrets we must go to Bickington.

If the jamb mouldings of the doorways at Eggesford, where there is a peculiar curled ornament, is not Norman, it certainly proves that builders were either too wise or too lazy to invent new forms when old ones were at hand.

It is certainly curious to find how largely a bold chamfer of six inches has been used for the plinth in about forty-five churches in this district, and as an alternative a moulding which appears in fourteen other churches. It seems difficult indeed to disprove the prevalent idea of so many eminent authorities on these points, that they were the actual remains of early Saxon work. Spires, gabled towers, roofs are rarely met with; but spires, with the solitary exception of Hennock, which is very low, never are found. The difficulties of delicate workmanship were simply because of the nature of the stone found in the neighbourhood. Hamhill and Caen stone were costly, limestone unsuitable, schist scarcely better, and sandstone being a rough conglomerate, full of nodules, utterly incapable of being wrought fine. Granite was to hand, but admitting of nothing but the coarsest treatment, is responsible unquestionably for the cold severity of a very large number of the church towers in central Devon.

To classify with any satisfactory result the different churches of the ancient Exeter diocese would be to elaborate a painful and useless task, but some of the salient points especially in the

Cornish churches deserve special mention. S. Germans and Bodmin have so long striven for pre-eminence that they can reasonably afford to lift their heads above the less honoured towns of the Peninsula. S. Petrocks conventual church at Bodmin was 114 feet high by 60 feet broad, and even now impresses the eye by its solemn proportions if all the wealth of decoration has departed and the ruins of the original roughly built monastic church speak sorrowfully of an ignored and yet glorious past. The merest apology of a Probate Court and the Assizes for the county being retained redeem the honour of S. Petrock from obscurity and shame. The church of S. Germans with stern towers and graceful canopies, for some years the unquestioned See of Cornwall, can afford to smile at the claims of Truro, S. Austell, S. Birian, and Camborne, for her modern honours equal her ancient prestige, but what benefit of civilization a bishop's establishment brought to the quiet town on the banks of the Lynher comes now by way of Plymouth and the Castle of the Eliots.

Yet who would not linger beneath the splendid Saxon porch of Kilkhampton Church, on the borders of Devon, or thank God that their mouldings remain at Milor, Landewednack, S. Anthony in Meneage and Cury.

Again the Courtenay family comes upon us at Sheviock Church, built by Sir Edward, where the elegance of the windows only surrenders the palm of beauty to the east window at S. Ives.

Though rich in sculpture they were poor in speech, for at S. Austell the quaint inscription, "CRVC · INRI," as it may well be interpreted, seems a supreme effort to define an unmistakeable design, every vantage point bearing the symbols of the Passion as if the awful truth could not be too often impressed upon the worshipper, more emphatic if less suggestive than the ghastly effigy of the Apostle's one bold stroke, in S. Peter's sword with the ear of the High Priest's servant attached.

But neither architect nor builder were idle in this age of

loud warring and battlefield. York and Lancaster could not bring their feud into the wild valleys of Cornwall, and so he who designed S. Petrock's Church at Bodmin went to S. Kewe, and the lofty tower of Fowey with parvise over the well-groined porch and the clustered pillars and capitals richly foliaged for the honour of the storm-tossed patron saint of the miners, were deftly cut at the mouth of Hayle river.

But for profusion and delicacy of ornamentation let the church of Launceston readily carry off the prize, and even though repugnant to the present age at least bear witness on the lettered shields all round the base which bear the Ave Maria conjointly with the bewildered ejaculation of Israel, so often found in Ebenezer and Little Bethel, "How dreadful is this place. This is none other than the House of God: this is the gate of Heaven."

But what can recompense the injured shrine of S. Petrock for the glorious glass which the churchwardens of 1469-71 sold to the churches of S. Kewe and Helland for twenty shillings, glorying as they do with their genealogical trees of the Royal Root of Jesse, the Virgin and all the blessed lineal ancestors of the Sun of Judah, after the fashion of the quaint devices whereby the ancient pedigree-hunter endeavoured to carry out the scriptural analogy of the Messianic prophecy of Isaiah.

These are familiar to every astonished student of the Aetates Mundi by Schedelius more commonly called The Nuremburg Chronicle.

So the glass at S. Neot's Church contains figures and legends bearing the name of S. Nectan, S. Leonard and others.

The Cornish screens compare favourably with those in Devon. The ancient church of S. Burian has a richly ornamented screen with fair stalls beneath loaded with gold and colour. Duloe, Tywardreth, South Petherwin, Mawgan in Pyder rival the screen at Dartmouth for richness and elaboration.

The enterprising lover of church traditions whose strength of limb is only equalled by his admiration of early tokens of folk-lore and custom in the scattered villages, finds nothing on the way so cheering as the constant occurrence of crosses on the wayside and near the church. Frequently majestic, but more frequently mutilated, they set him thinking of the distant days long ere the mason or the carpenter had built the Sanctuary. At S. Burian the variety and positive ubiquity of crosses is simply solemn. We feel convinced of the Saxon foundation of the monastery, but the perpetuation of the Holy Symbol is here so startling in magnificence that, taken in conjunction with the fact that in the same parish Druidical monuments in cromlech, circle, cairn, pillar and logan there abound, the offence of the cross ceases. The pre-historic stone records might not be destroyed: who would dare to touch them but another Saxon Wynfrith. But erect his Lords *patibulum* they might and so we find at Crous-an-wah a rude circular-headed cross: in the church another: in the churchyard another quatrefoiled and on three steps: opposite Boskenna gate another, at Ken Cary another with a double incised cross on the round head.

There is a tract of country about 38 miles in extent stretching through western Devon to Cornwall in which the dedications of the churches suggest a very simple reason for the use of these crosses originally and the termination which distinguishes the names of seventeen parishes in the district. Starting from Instow, at the mouth of the Torridge, we find a dedication to S. John, and round these within a moderate radius we see churches bearing the names of St. Bridget in Bridestowe, St. Christina in Christow, St. James in Jacobstow, St. Mary in Maristow, St. Petrock in Petrockstow, St. Bridget the Virgin in Virginstow. In Cornwall the dedications are no less remarkable. St. James appears in Jacobstow, St. Michael in Michaelstow, St. Petrock in Padstow, St. Morwenna in

Morwinstow, St. Werburgh in Warbstow. In St. Neots, called in Domesday Neotstow, we find another similar instance. If we desire to trace the formation of the manor, the building of the church and the limitation of the parish in Saxon times, nothing seems more probable than that a community of settlers engaged in agricultural, fishing or mining pursuits, having selected a convenient spot, cleared a space for the transaction of their general business. This was called a stow, or place. Here the tithing men would meet, the markets were held, sports and games celebrated, conversation and discussion encouraged in matters of common importance, justice eventually would also be administered. Such a "stow" would of necessity be dedicated with a religious solemnity and commended by the most accessible priest to the protection of a favourite saint. A cross would be in a short time erected and give its name to the whole manor. Around this most properly and naturally would the dead be interred, and as population increased and culture, even of a rude sort, improved, the building of a holy house would follow at the cost of the landlord, with the co-operation of the poorer tenants. The highest English historical authority does not hesitate to refer to an incident bearing on this subject in the life of King Richard, who is said to have reigned over Wessex about 700 A.D. Having married Winna, sister of S. Wynfrith, of Crediton, an infant, whom he named Willibald, was born to them, but his life was despaired of, and, in their extreme sorrow and as custom was, they took their sick child and laid him with tears and prayers before the village cross. His health was restored, and he became the devoted servant and chronicler of his friend and uncle S. Boniface, of Metz. "For the custom of the Saxon race is, that in certain manors, belonging to nobles and rich men, there is not a church erected, but the blessed sign of the Holy Cross, dedicated to God, is raised on high with much honour,

and this they are accustomed to use for the necessary requirements of daily prayer."

The cross, then on the gable end of the chancel roof outside, upon the retable within, or in the midst, is no novel introduction in our parish churches, nor can those who depreciate the restoration of the Crucifix to its ancient position on the rood screen bring any evidence to prove that in early days such a memorial of the Passion was abused superstitiously.

In many of the restored churches of this diocese, the first object of veneration that meets the eye of the worshipper on entering is the font, in some churches simple as that of St. Enoder and St. Stephen by Launceston, in others elaborately carved like those at Lanreath, St. Austell, and Warbstow, duly placed near the South door, where most come in. But if the desire is to gain a fair idea of the architectural proportions and internal arrangements, to cast the eyes towards the glowing glass in the East window most spontaneously suggests itself, and it becomes impossible to ignore the theory or success which generations of old faithful Catholic West countrymen acted on with a bold achievement when they made all their efforts to concentrate devotion and praise in the service of the altar. Little cause is there for wonder that the number of communicants was 100 years ago contemptible and sadly small. Cruel sacrilegious violence and sluggardly neglect had robbed God's House of all her glory, and the living inside the Sanctuary (as the dead without) lived and lay in squalid disregard of their sacred surroundings. But let any of the noble, if small churches of Devon or Cornwall, stand before the eye in all the beauty of their olden restored glory, and the saints of these busy days thank God and take courage.

CHAPTER VII.

Thanks to that excellent foresight which has distinguished so many of the early Bishops of Exeter, all the larger towns within the diocese have been provided not only with regular markets, but also with well-endowed and efficient schools, for to the mind of a Chief Overseer next to the Church and the poor must of necessity be the welfare of the young and their religious and moral training. Amongst the Devonshire towns which owe their past history to this discriminate providence, few are better known than Ashburton. Lying in a beautiful valley, facing South, protected from cold tempest-blasts that sweep the moor beyond, it offers as fair an example of a prosperous county-town as may be found in all England. A romantic legend of the wealthy Saxon Lord, who, in the reign of the Confessor, held this manor, may be mentioned in passing. Brictric, the Saxon thane, having been sent on a mission to Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, excited by his manly beauty in the heart of Matilda, the Earl's daughter, a strong

passion, which nothing but marriage would satisfy. Brictric, however, declined her overtures and returned to England. Matilda subsequently became the wife of William the Conqueror, and, on the distribution of the English lands among the knights of the King, took care to obtain for herself the manor of Ashburton. Brictric was seized, carried off to Winchester Prison, and died there. The manor was held for the Queen in demesne by Juhel de Totnes.

After the banishment of Juhel by William Rufus, Ashburton was granted to the Bishops of Exeter, who held it till the 17th century, when it reverted to the Crown. The varied and successive stages through which it has, like many another estate, passed in 800 years may well be noted. The manor was sold in moieties to the Earl of Feversham and Sir Robert Parkhurst, the latter conveying his half to Sir John Stawell, from whom it passed to the family of Tuckfield : thus it came to Samuel Rolle, Esq., and eventually to the present Lord Clinton, who, with the other Lord of the Manor, Sir Robert Jardine, has recently revived the memories of a day when Ashburton held a high place in the roll of affluent boroughs, by the presentation of a chain of office. The value and variety of estates held according to ancient custom by the Bishops of Exeter was not, as some would have us think, a great crying evil, for a more intimate knowledge of facts satisfies us that a very large part of those profits, which are supposed to have gone in keeping up vast and expensive retinues and immense households, was spent upon Church work, education and the relief of the poor, no less than in the development of legitimate trade and the employment of productive capital. In this instance, that of a noble-minded and large-hearted Prelate, there is no room for doubt but that Walter de Stapledon, having a house at Ashburton, determined that the presence of a Bishop in the midst of an agricultural population should be a permanent blessing, and with this

intent, before he had spent six years in this moorland parish erected a chapel within the precincts of his court, where a Priest should always pray for his own soul, the souls of his predecessors and successors, and keep a Free School for children, any balance which might remain in hand after the satisfaction of these bequests being devoted to two most practical and excellent objects, a supply of wholesome water and the assistance of the plague-stricken.

The charitable bequests of Bishop de Stapledon furnish us with a very fair example of the business-like abilities which Prelates of the Church evinced in the use of their office. Indeed the educational and eleemosynary endowments through which so many thousands of our children of the commercial section of the community have arisen to wealth and fortune are for the most part the foundations of the clergy. The parishioners, as might have been expected, gladly embraced the generous offer of the Bishop and bound themselves to find a full and fitting maintenance for the Priest and schoolmaster, as well as all books and ornaments. The school went on in its usual efficiency until 1535, when, after the visit of the Royal Commissioners, the parishioners bought from the Crown the chapel and ground, and for some time kept up the school by voluntary contributions, until, convinced of the necessity of placing it on a firmer basis, in 1594 the purchasers confirmed a grant to John Caunter and others of Ashburton in St. Laurence's Chapel and the churchyard, on condition that the Portreeve and Guild should be allowed to hold their two annual meetings there.

Subsequent endowments raised the school to a safe and honourable position among the educational institutions of the county, amongst famous men who there received their early training and gratefully remembered the benefits there obtained being Dr. Ireland, Dean of Westminster, and William Giffard, the scholar and famous translator of Juvenal.

Leaving the fine old churches of Buckland and Widecomb on the right and passing beneath the bleak rocks of Cracken Tor, we come to an abbey school, whose fame dates back to Saxon days, and which occupies a place in history of wide and varied interest. It is not to see the huge bones of giant Ordulph, son of Ordgar, Earl of Devon, who in 961 began that splendid monastery which survived the ruins wrought by the Danes, only to be brought to greater ruin and contempt by civilized robbers, and eventually, as may now be seen, become a modern hostelry, that we come to Tavistock.

With an income of £900 a year, with an hereditary claim to be considered one of the oldest and best established religious seminaries in the kingdom and the premier printing press in the West, this house might well claim the honour of exemption from all the vexatious restrictions of episcopal supervision. In 1513, Richard Banham, then Abbot of Tavistock, resolved to obtain from Henry VIII all the rights and privileges of a mitred abbey, for the attempt at Visitation, which had been made by Bishop Oldham, ill-suited his ideas of spiritual proprieties. In 1508, the Bishop of Exeter, by order and course, resolved to visit his Abbey of Tavistock, little thinking what trouble his determination would bring upon his own shoulders.

Abbot Richard was cited in July, 1513, to answer to the charge of episcopal contempt. His reply was a written appeal to the Holy Court at Rome. This was declared frivolous and inadmissible. Promptly declared contumacious and consequently suspended, the Abbot, to serve his own purposes, went to Exeter and offered a feigned submission, receiving, on presentation of £5 in gold, full absolution from all the Bishop's censures But the President of St. Mary and St. Rumo's was not to be cut short in his ambitious aims by any such conciliatory arrangement.

The second crisis in the quarrel was attained when he carried

his appeal to the Primate, William Warham and to Richard Fitz-James, Bishop of London, but without effect, for the decision of the Court was simply to strengthen the hands of the Diocesan and leave the Abbot with the poor consolation of knowing that the Bishop was to treat him with paternal kindness and clemency.

The final crisis only serves to prove how utterly incompatible with peace and order, both in Church and State, is any admission of a strange and foreign jurisdiction. This rebuff was nothing to a politician of the duly educated Roman allegiance. From Canterbury to Rome was a legitimate step: the trouble and expenses to which he had been put were amply indemnified by a Bull, dated September 14th, 1517, by which the abbey, with all and several its dependencies, was declared free from all manner of visitations and solely subject to the Apostolic See. One payment only was due to the Apostolic Camera: half an ounce of gold on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul.

The last chapter in the history of the abbey needs but a few words. On March 20th, 1549, the monastery was surrendered to the Crown in consideration of a pension of £100 per annum. Within six months the abbey and principal part of its estates were granted by the King to John Lord Russell. They remain in the hands of his direct descendants to this day. The late Earl made a grant of £20,000 for the establishment of a school.

It is difficult to altogether discredit the dictum of Archbishop Parker when he says that Tavistock Abbey was an institution for teaching the Saxon tongue. The Abbots of Tavistock were lessees of the Devonshire Stannaries. They were also controllers of the issues of Royal mines in Devon and Cornwall. Their rights included the Isles of Sully, where Turoldus (one of their own corporation) was superior of the priory, but, from what the ubiquitous and energetic Bishop of

the 14th century, de Grandisson, says, it is not surprising that not only were the islands called collectively without distinction Scilly, but, as he declares, were so inaccessible to ordinary mortals that no Bishop had ever been there except by deputy. There is, then, little cause for wonder that the isles are not mentioned in Domesday or Liber Regis.

In speaking of these parochial schools, it must be borne in mind that the earliest were attached to the parsonage or vicarage house, where the Parish Priest lived with a number of youths, of whom he took charge, with the view of training them for the subordinate orders of the Church.

Lads of 14 or 15 years of age thus brought up served as *aquæ baguli* or Parish Clerks, and not unfrequently slept even in the church itself to trim the light before the Altar and perform the other menial duties of the Sanctuary. At Columb Major there remain some relics, even to the present time, of the large solar and smaller sleeping rooms, though now adapted to modern requirements.

At Sidbury, Paignton and Coombe in-Teignhead the same arrangement existed, and also at Haccombe, where the additional dignity of headship or quasi-Decanal power was signified by the prefix Arch to the word Priest. Then also at Week St. Mary, the birth-place of Thomasine Bonaventure, there was, until the disendowment of chantries and obits, an excellent school founded by the aforesaid remarkable person, who, from being a humble village girl, feeding her father's flock on the wild moors of North Cornwall, married finally, in 1498, Sir John Percival Lord Mayor of London, and built in her own village and endowed a chantry and free school with excellent accommodation for schoolmasters, scholars, and officers, wherein as the bent of her desire was holy, so God blessed the same with all wished success, for divers of the best sons of gentlemen of Devon and Cornwall were there virtuously trained up in both kinds of

Divine and human learning under an honest and religious teacher. Well says Carew, "A petty smack of Popery opened a gap to the suppression of the whole," leaving as a mockery of the past a fragment of an embattled wall—now called the College.

The inherent capacity of ancient foundations for adaptation to modern requirements is sensibly exemplified in the old Cluniac Priory of St. Mary Magdalen at Barum and of St. Mary at Totnes, both founded by the before-named Juhell shortly after the Conquest, to whom also are undoubtedly owing the castles in each town, though that at Totnes, if we would only believe the champions of the Trojan Brutus, can claim an altogether pre-historic construction. The Grammar School at Barnstaple is the very building formerly known as part of the original Priory and as the nursery of Bishop Jewel, who was born in the neighbouring parish of Berry-narbor, and of Judge Dodderidge, whose pertinent motto may still be read with an almost obliterated epitaph on his Jacobeian monument in the Lady Chapel at Exeter—"Lex Norma Morum"—and of the poet Gay, can claim no insignificant place in the list of Grammar Schools.

The Grammar School at Crediton also stands high amongst the schools of the diocese at least in point of antiquity, for there can be little doubt as to the generally received tradition that Wynfrith, within the precincts of Holy Cross was taught the first principles of the Christian Faith.

Cornwall, too, though more remote in point of distance, has no cause to be ashamed of her educational institutions. There can, indeed, be very little question as to the great antiquity of the monastic school connected with the three Augustinian Priories of Bodmin, St. German's, and Launceston. It is not too much to affirm that the whole purpose for which such institutions were originally founded was the conversion of the ignorant heathen from darkness to light by elementary

education in the second place, if the first was the honour and glory of God. Every religious house had its teaching staff. It is highly improbable that a divine of such manifold abilities as Hucar, who, according to Leland, sought the refuge offered by the remote Abbey of St. German, should have restricted his exertions, in the course of study, to writing. Indeed we are distinctly told that he gained much favour with all by preaching as well as by writing. Thus it was that these remote nurseries of the Church gained through generation and generation so firm a hold upon the affections of the uncivilized tribes of benighted faith. Youths, moved with the stirring appeals of the clergy and pious hermits, saw no object in life half so sweet as the martyrs' work and crown. Maidens, impressed with the absolute necessity of surrender to the Divine will and at times undoubtedly resentful of the rough and coarse treatment in those days offered to the gentler sex, gladly embraced the life of seclusion and devotion.

The Seal of Bodmin Priory itself suggests the protective and educational attractions which would and did gather round a church boasting of birth in even the sixth century. The common seal of the Priory is deserving of notice. Upon it are represented two elaborate canopies, the right niche occupied by a figure of the Blessed Virgin with the Holy Child Jesus in her arms, the left by that of St. Petrock with his right hand raised in the act of benediction, a crosier in his other hand.

How appropriate such a design is to a school founded peremptorily to insist on the education of the young in the highest principles of the Catholic Faith once for all delivered to the Saints, Bishop Bartholomew, whose token the three dolphins in a square recess on the seal contains, clearly saw. The Priory indeed owed much to his fatherly generosity, and it is extremely probable that he, one of the most learned Bishops of the See, superintended the development of its religious resources with anxiety and keen discretion. From what we

have heard previously of the valuable documents preserved in the Library of the Church of St. Petrock, we may well believe that the literary and educational opportunities of the rough country town were in advance of others in the same Diocese.

Nor were other substantial inducements lacking to bring dwellers into the precincts of the old Cathedral Church of Cornwall. In addition to the lazar-house, connected with the Chapel of St. Laurence and those of St. Antony and of St. George (properties which eventually fell into the hands of the children of Thomas Sternhold, who conveyed them to the Rashleigh family), a dole was given weekly of one shilling to every poor person for the benefit of the soul of the founder, Algarus, a nobleman, who had, at the suggestion of Bishop William Warelwast, refounded the Priory and built the Conventual Church.

In this respect, however, the favorite establishment of Reginald, the natural son of Henry the 1st, and of the Earls of Cornwall, wins the palm in the county, as we find from the account of Bishop Lacey, who declares it to have been commendable for hospitality, the refreshment of the poor and many acts of pity. It would be extremely interesting to know whether there was ever established in this Priory a school of music or harmony. The hint of such an institution contained in the following words found in the Register of the same Bishop are at least suggestive of a theory that would have much to commend it to students of medieval church music. June 16th, 1440, we read that Lacy offered forty days' indulgence to all true penitents contributing to the funds of the Minstrels of the Blessed Virgin of St. Mary Magdalen of Lanstone.

The very stones of the ancient Monasteries of the English Church appear to cling to their reputation for open hospitality, inasmuch as the only remains now existing of Launceston

Priory, a Norman arch, are actually part of the White Horse Inn.

Liskeard, a name meaning the fort, cannot boast of any great distinction as far as education is concerned, unless it be that the versatile Dr. Wolcot, better known as Peter Pindar, received in its somewhat diminutive grammar school the rudiments of his education, but it was quite near enough to St. Stephens by Launceston to excite its envy and be a thorn in its side. The privileges conferred on the Priory by Reginald were still further increased by Richard, Earl of Poictiers, under writs of special protection, so that by the year 1,400 the fifteen Augustinian Canons enjoyed an income of £1500 per annum, and on the strength of their Royal favours presumed to acts of high-handed authority which say more for the daring than the judgment of Prior Stephen Tredydan, who, marching into Liskeard with an armed force, rescued the Vicar, Henry Friend, who was under arrest, and certain articles of no great value belonging to the parish. Such irregularities were in some sense, it must be supposed, expiated by the pious regulations of another Prior, one John Honyland, who shortly afterwards built and endowed a chantry in the convent wherein at the altar of St. Margaret, and St. John, of Bridlington, one of the community was to celebrate daily and for ever at early dawn. In other respects the Priors of St. Stephens attempted to assert their superiority, as by obtaining from Bishop Oldham a license for the Priors of the house to wear an amice of grey fur during Divine Service and processions as is done in Exeter Cathedral and Collegiate Churches.

The obligations of pilgrimage were so large a part of the moral habits and so intimately connected with the history of all the most eminent churches of Christendom that the natural geological peculiarities which with the reported apparition of the Archangel Michael on the Mount must ever have attracted

the curious or superstitious need scarcely be taken into account.

The light of St. Michael on the Mount must have been burnt for over 300 years, when Sir John Arundel, of Trerice, in 1433, left in his will 13s. 4d. to ever keep up the lamp before the altar of the Archangel in his chapel there, and the same amount to complete the chancel, for which Robert, Earl of Moretain, had confirmed a grant of the Mount with half an hide of land and a market there to the Abbey of St. Michael, in Normandy, and this had been confirmed by William the Conqueror. Bishop William Warelwast had consecrated the church in 1135, and Bernard, the eleventh Abbot of the French Abbey had settled there thirteen brethren as the expression somewhat remarkably has it "to the honour of Jesus Christ and his apostles."

Granted by King Henry 5th to Sion College, more fortunate than other alien priories in being specially exempt from seizure, this combination of church, castle and beacon passed through an unequalled variety of conditions and treatment. In the time of Richard I. and again in the 15th century, a fortress, the refuge of the unlucky Lady Catherine Gordon, the wife of Perkin Warbeck, the scene of Sir Francis Bassets plucky defence against the parliamentary forces under Colonel Hammond, it has now at last relapsed into the enjoyment of calmer days as the dignified and hospitable home of the first Lord St. Levan, fleets of fishing boats and other vessels riding within the bay beneath the mount where—as historians tell us—in the long past more than 140 churches stood in the midst of green fields and rich acres of wheat.

Even here too, as inland, the Church had her work to do and did it; for as the votive light in the Chapel of St. Nicholas on the sharp escarpment of the Capstone Rock at Ilfracombe shon and indeed now shines with welcome glow to warn the storm-tossed sailor on his way up the channel to Bristol Port,

so, though far inferior in her position and importance to the world-known flash of great achievement on the Eddystone Rock, did the representative splendour of the Captain of the Lords hosts glow from the giddy height of the Archangel's throne, 200 feet above the raging waters beneath. Just as now the Church sends out to the ships that seek shelter in the land-locked waters of Mounts Bay, so nearly 500 years ago did William Morton, the Chaplain of the Mount, approach King Henry VI. with a petition that seeing how there was no safe port for ships of 80 tons burden between the Lizard and Mounts Bay, and from various causes much loss of life and goods, accrued to the King and his people for want of a sufficient port, and whereas he the said William, from a religious motive, in compassion for the people thus endangered had commenced a stone key or jetty which would be capable of holding 200 ships of large tonnage, and whereas the cost had been very great, and would be much greater to complete it, he prayed the King for his assistance. The reply was a grant from Parliament to the said William Morton, and the governors of the work, to levy toll of 12d. on every ship of over 120 tons, and on other and smaller vessels in proportionate amount, according to tonnage, while boats of strange or foreign fishermen fishing within the bay were to pay 12d. or fish to that value, under the superintendence of four of the most responsible merchants of Marghasieu (Marazion, or Jews' Market) and fishermen elected by other merchants and fishermen of the town. Thus wisely and practically was the affectionate disposition of the Church shewn in all manner of places and times to all sorts and conditions of men.

It is however natural that the most populous and wealthy of the eleemosynary foundations should be founded around the Mother Church of the Diocese, not simply from that principle of centralization which is after all no modern theory, but for protection, co-operation and surveillance.

It is needless to stop and consider what ground there may be to suppose that the present city of Exeter was originally called Monkton from the large number of religious houses in the place. Enough is it to know that the present Cathedral stands at least in part on the very spot which was occupied by the first Saxon Monastery of the Benedictine order, to which no doubt King Alfred referred when he gave Asser, as the historian himself tells us in his exploits of the King, not merely such trifles as Amesbiry and Banwill, but the more valuable and utterly unexpected gift of Exancestre with the whole Diocese belonging to it in Saxony and Cornwall.

The few remaining monks who were left in the monastery of Exeter were speedily removed by the Confessor to his favoured foundation of Westminster to make room for the far more honourable and solemn apparatus and staff of a Cathedral Church. A nunnery is said to have stood on the site of the present Deanery, but certain it is that after the year 1050 the monastic fraternities developed without hindrance or failure till the stronghold of Rougemont and the Towers of Warelwast offered that defensive and (on the part of the Cathedral Chapter) perchance rather patronising support which led to their common prosperity and wealth.

The Priory of S. Nicholas has always been considered the first of all the monasteries in Exeter, and this it may fairly claim to be if we remember how it arose out of a gift of land made by William the Conqueror to Battle Abbey, of which it finally became a cell with separate endowments, conditional on the payment of 60s. to the mother house as a mark of dependence, a sum which after 150 years was reduced to 20s. and yet at the dissolution of the monasteries had risen to the huge fine of seven pounds.

Difficulties at the same time inevitably arose when a corporation of inferior order and privilege in any sense approached in custom, opulence or favour the one presiding power of the

borough, namely the Cathedral Chapter, which with the Mayor or Provost constituted the governing body to all intents and purposes. The clergy were undoubtedly hostile to any assumption of consequence by the Priory commonly called de Bataille and in every conceivable way did their best to resent and prevent all encroachments on their parochial fees and prerogatives. S. Anselm was engaged on behalf of the regulars to stop the ringing of their bells at S. Nicholas, but he at the same time gently administered a rebuke to the jealousy of the parish priests and commended the monks to Episcopal protection.

This in time became unnecessary, for ample endowments rapidly relieved the anxieties of the Prior who, if he was not absent in Sussex on the plea of business at the parent convent or of personal edification or promotion (an excuse by the way not infrequently used by the head of the house when it pleased him to rusticate), was able henceforth to keep up that character for hospitality which it was clearly the duty of the servants of S. Nicholas to support.

The importance of the establishment may be judged by the fact that when water was brought by the Dean and Chapter in 1346 to the conduit in the Cathedral Close while one channel was particularly provided for the Capitular Houses and another for the supply of the city, the third was solely for the use of S. Nicholas. Still, victuals of a more substantial sort than mere water were here offered to the poor and all tenants of the Priory. It is easy to understand from this example in a populous city how incalculable a loss to the poor and feeble was the dissolution of the monasteries. At this Priory there was a "Por Mens Parlor" to which daily seven poor men came before dinner-time and received on flesh days a 2d. loaf, a pottle of ale and a piece of flesh, and if any man could not come his portion was sent to him. On Fridays also after dinner all poor tenants could come and have instead of their usual

allowance of flesh a piece of fish and one penny. At this time too all poor persons dwelling within the fee of the Patron Saint might come and have enough meat and drink, while on the feast-day of S. Nicholas bread was widely distributed and on every Good Friday a general alms.

This much we learn of the beneficent influence exercised by this flourishing community amongst the poor of Exeter, and can therefore scarcely be surprised at the occurrence which Hoker has left so graphically described.

At the suppression of all monasteries of the value of 300 marks and under in 1535, Sir John Tregonwell and Sir Thomas Arundell with others were sent to Exeter as commissioners to carry out their orders.

"In the sommer time," says Hoker, the Chamberlain, "they came to this city and began first with the Priory of S. Nicholas. After they had viewed the same they went thence to dinner and commanded one in the time of their absence to pulle the rood-loft up in the church. In the meanwhile before they did return certain women and wives in the city, namely Jone Reve, Elizabeth Glanfeld, Agnes Collaton and Alys Miller, Joan Rede and others, mynding to stop the suppression of that house came in at last to the sayd churche: dore being fast they break it open and finding there the man pulling down the rood-loft, they all sought all the means they could to take him and hurled stones unto him, insomuch that for his safety he was driven to take the tower for his refuge, and yet they pursued him so eagerly that he was enforced to leap out at a window and so save himself, and very hardly he escaped the breaking of his neck; but yet brake one of his ribs. John Blackaller, one of the aldermen of the city, being advertised hereof, he with all spede gate him to the said monastery, so thinking that what with fair words, and what with foul words, to have stayed and pacified the women; but howsoever he talked with them, they were playn with hym and the foresayd

Elizabeth Glanfeld gave hym a blow, and sent him packynge."

The end of the fracas was that the Mayor broke his way in, and not, without much ado, apprehended them and lodged them in ward, which, when the Commissioners heard, we are told, gave thanks for his care and diligence and proceeded with the suppression of the house, entreating the Mayor to release the women. The remains of the Priory may still be seen in the Mint, and so recently as 1842, when an excavation was made for a cellar on the site of the Lady Chapel of the monastery, the corpse of Lady Matilda Courtenay was disinterred, which had been laid there 400 years before: by her will, she charged certain tenements in High Street with the payment of 1d. to 13 poor persons yearly.

The last of the Priors was the only one who attained to any high position in the Church. William of Coliton (or Cullompton, as it is now more commonly spelt) was Coadjutor Bishop to Bishop Veysey, having the title of Suffragan Bishop of Hippo; at this time, in consequence of his connection with the Priory, Ordinations were constantly celebrated in the Church of St. Nicholas. His appointment to a Canonry after the death of Richard Sydnor in 1534, was, as far as we may judge, very distasteful to the then Cathedral body: it was a critical time, both financially and politically. Willielmus Hipponensis was, nevertheless, entitled to his rights and emolument as fully as any other Canon, but it was not till an appeal had been taken to Thomas Crumwell that his demands received satisfaction, and there seems indeed room for doubt whether he ever actually succeeded in securing his proper dividends from the Capitular Treasury or even arrears due.

In other respects, and at least as regards pecuniary matters, he must be accounted most fortunate, for he was one of those discreet spiritual diplomatists who in dangerous days so wisely subordinated their political to their economical and individual necessities, that when the crash came they quietly landed in

the calm haven of a good benefice. Thus it came to pass that in 1537 he was collated to the Vicarage of St. Probus, and twelve years after to the Archdeaconry of Totnes, ten days later his institution to the Vicarage of Cullompton being recorded.

To follow further the fortunes of St. Nicholas Priory would be superfluous, but other establishments of a religious character existed in the city of Exeter from an early date. Any one familiar with the site of the ancient Priory of St. Nicholas will readily allow that so charming a situation was too exquisite to escape jealousy and emulation. The gently sloping valley of the Shyttebrooke, which in pre-Reformation days ran down part of Longbrook Street and swiftly running under Northernhay emptied itself into the River Exe somewhere below S. Michael's Church, lent all its excellence of aspect, air and access to the brother Agnellus who with his eight comrades arrived in England in 1209 and were at once received by King Henry IV with all cordiality. Grey Friars had been settled here for many years, but obviously their site upon the city walls, crammed up between the king's highway and the Snayle Tower, was utterly unsuitable, being too restricted in space and utterly overwhelmed by the more ancient convent whose capacious grounds entirely dwarfed their dwelling. Indeed no considerations could convince the followers of S. Francis of the necessity for becoming reconciled to or contented with a house which, on the authority of no less a personage than the Earl of Hereford, was not merely detestable but unsanitary, nine brethren having died there within two years This happened in 1258, when King Edward I. and his court spent their Christmas in Exeter. This, however, was enough for the Bishop, who desired Deodatus, guardian of the Franciscan Order, to choose a site in a more convenient situation. Such an arrangement was finally made in the days and with the assistance of Bishop Bitton when the

Franciscan brethren removed to their new house outside Southgate, where one of the citizens had given them a desirable site, wanting in only one requisite—a good supply of water. This was afterwards obtained by carrying a channel from Crolditch, now called Southernhay, down the slope outside the Bishop's grounds to their new dwelling. In 1266, at a time when the Order was gaining immense influence and making vigorous efforts to supplant the parochial clergy no less than their pretentious rivals by the followers of S. Dominic in the affections of the people, a remarkable deed is found to have been executed by an Archdeacon of Exeter which throws much light on the feeling then existing between some members of the Mother Church and the mendicant fraternity.

This Roger de Toriz, who became Dean in 1305, wise in his generation, did what he could to help the Grey Friars by granting them the use of his own private collection of books whether as an inducement to study or as a token of goodwill, and in this grant gives us a fair idea of the standard works which were in those days necessary to the education of a preacher and scholar. In the preamble to this deed the Archdeacon, premising that the exertions of the Friars Minor had borne inestimable fruit in the saving of souls and the correction of manners (of which we can well believe, he, as the eye of a Bishop, had ample opportunities for forming a just estimate), goes on to stipulate that the regularly appointed preachers of the City of Exeter were to have the use of the books he mentions when they require them without hindrance, but that no one was to sell, give, pledge or in any other way alienate or convert them to other uses. That the study of Holy Scripture was not so entirely neglected as some persons would have us believe, is evident from the subjoined list. The Pentateuch, the Historical Books of the Old Testament, the Prophetical Books, the five Books of Soloman in one volume, the Acts of the Apostles and the Canonical Epistles in another

volume, the first volume of the Originals of Augustine, the third volume of the Summa of Alexander Hales on the Sentences, the Summa of Mr. William de Auxerre, the Preachers great Concordance, the Postilles on all the Historical Books except that on the Maccabees, the Postilles on divers passages in the Psalms, by Hugh de S. Clare, with themes for the whole year, and Questions of Philip, the Chancellor of Paris, which begin with the words, "I will go out into the field," also the Distinctions by the same author, and a Psalter of Bononia, glossed.

This concession was limited but by one other reasonable condition—that at the end of the year, after the death of de Thoriz, examination should be made by the Dean or by some one appointed by the Chapter to see that the provisions of the deed were scrupulously observed.

The popularity of the Order did not, however, save their original Church from the most shameless acts of sacrilege in 1421, when some "evil-minded emissaries of Satan" broke into the consecrated building, destroyed the stained glass windows and desecrated the graves, which, according to Cardinal Beaufort, who was much incensed at their scandalous treatment of this holy place, contained the bodies of many illustrious persons. The seal of the community is a beautiful representation of the care of the Blessed Virgin and S. Joseph for the Infant Jesus, who is laid in a crib before them. One remaining incident is left to be related of this monastic establishment, namely, how in 1534 Hugh Latymer came to Exeter and preached his first sermon in the churchyard of the Grey Friars to the great annoyance of them all, with one exception. This was John Cardmaker, or Taylor, who proved his admiration and faith in the novel doctrine which the reformer preached by suffering at the stake in Smithfield twenty years afterwards.

It appears from all the accounts of the "Extraordinary expenses" of the Cathedral Church that at least in the penitential seasons the additional sermons provided in S. Peter's Church were delivered by the two Orders of Brethren indiscriminately, the payment for each sermon being 6d. In 1390 for instance, it is distinctly said that the Preaching and Minor Friars only had five shillings because John de Lidford preached the other sermons.

The Dominican Convent from the very first asserted its position in more dangerous proximity and emulation of the church of S. Peter. Whether in granting a supply of water from their own excellent springs of Pudewille and Chavelscrofte they first succeeded in winning the favour of Bishop Walter Bronscombe and on the strength of the Episcopal obligation presumed to dispute the rights of the newly constituted Chapter is not so much as hinted, but certain it is that on what is now called Bedford Circus (by reason of the fact that the whole estate in 1539 came into the hands of the Russell family) the house of the Dominicans arose, their cemetery was consecrated and a very large number of distinguished persons for some 600 years lay peacefully interred until the ruthless pickaxe of the modern builder irreverently evicted their remains. For reasons also of paramount pecuniary advantage did this influential Society enforce every atom of a claim which they could devise for the possession and retention of the bodies of those who were honourable and wealthy. True, they possessed the right of insisting on the burial of every professed follower of S. Dominic within their own cemetery, and when, as occurred in the case of Thomas Edwards, of Modbury, who happened to die there—the vicar of the parish had buried his body in the churchyard of that parish—they lodged a complaint with Bishop Brantingham and insisted on the exhumation of the corpse and its delivery to their Prior or his proctor.

Now it is clear that by his last will and testament Sir Henry Raleigh had directed that his body should be buried in the Church of the Dominicans at Exeter, and it is also perfectly clear that by an old law every body should be brought to the Mother Church for Mass and payment of certain immemorial dues. This rule applied also to the clergy and other official persons, such as Simon Prestcot, Vicar of Zeal Monachorum, who, dying about the end of the 14th century, in his lifetime had distinctly expressed his wish to be buried in his own churchyard "et non alibi"; upon hearing that this request had been made by the late Vicar of Zeal, the Chapter put no impediment in the way of its fulfilment, provided that Mass was first said in the Cathedral and the usual offerings made.

The Dominicans had, however, determined to resist the Capitular demands to the bitter end; as it happened, they were wise.

The demand of the Cathedral Body was simply this: that as it was customary for the bodies of all persons dying within their jurisdiction to be brought to the Mother Church previous to final burial, it was only right that the body of Sir Henry Raleigh should be there presented. The corpse was accordingly brought to S. Peter's Church in acknowledgment of the ancient rights herein observed, but when it was conveyed back again to the house of the Black Friars they refused to take it in, and for many days the body of this valiant soldier lay, without care or decent burial, till, to prevent further scandal, the Canons took up the remains and honourably interred them in the South ambulatory of the Cathedral choir, where a recumbent effigy now marks his place of rest.

Revenge it undoubtedly was, as Archbishop Winchelsey plainly put it, which prompted the Dominican Prior to go to the favourite but ridiculous expedient of appealing to Rome, an effort worthy of a nobler end and which happily resulted in a

sharp rebuke. The plea was, indeed, of the very flimsiest description. During the appeal the Dean of the Cathedral died, and the Convent objected to any election of a successor taking place on the ground that the electors had incurred excommunication, and that, under these circumstances, the election of Henry de Somerset was null and void. Fortunately we have evidence enough to shew that in these and later times men were found professed votaries of S. Dominic at Exeter, who shon as scholars and authors of no mean rank. It is not often that we can associate sermons 400 years old with places and persons as vividly as we can in the present instance, but the very words of the rather weak and vapid discourse which Bishop Lacey delivered in the Chapter House of the Convent, in the presence of the general Council of the Order of S. Dominic on August the 15th, 1441, are before us. Taking for his text "Ascendit de deserto deliciis affluens," he asserts the various offices of the Messiah, who, in the first place, being our lawgiver, went up into the Mount as teacher and preacher; in the second place, as a most devout man of prayer, and in the third place to the top of Calvary as a most eager watchman. Improving upon this idea, he urges the necessity of being ever vigilant in looking out for unexpected emergencies in their arduous duties. Here introducing an incident of James de Losanna, he brings in two or three appropriate quotations from the Fathers, and concludes with a slightly tame exhortation to ascend the mount of virtue, without much attempt at a peroration.

It is not too much to say that through nearly four centuries scarcely a will was proved which did not contain a bequest to both these Priories. With the prisoners in Southgate and the other public gaols, with the lazar and leper houses, with the poor, lame, halt and blind they invariably shared in the pious legacies of the citizens of Exeter and the richer class of devout Churchmen.

The order of S. Peter of Cluni could number in all not more than 20 houses throughout the country, and one of these was established in 1143 by one of the noblest of the Earls of Devon, Baldwin de Redvers.

The lands with which he endowed the monastery were in their way a situation choice if of small value. They comprised some land and wood at Cotleigh (near Dunsford), half the fishery at Topsham, two acres of land, through which their mill leat flowed, and the right to erect mills between Southbrook and Topsham, and the church of Tiverton, and were ample provision for a conventual corporation consisting of but five members. As an alien house, the child of the Abbey of S. Martins-in-the-Fields, it necessarily shared the vicissitudes of all similar monasteries of foreign attachment, and in the end fell into the hand of Henry the Sixth, by whom it was given to King's College, Cambridge. Through the short existence which it enjoyed nothing occurred in connection with this diminutive community to redeem it from the opprobrium with which the houses of the Cluniac rule were invariably held by the English people on account of the vast sums of money which their foreign devotees succeeded in carrying out of the country.

But the class which suffered most severely from the destruction of the educational and eleemosynary establishments was that which was least capable of repairing the mischief by legitimate means. A great mass of distraught and discontented persons of all ages and professional prospects was set loose in every large town and roamed the country. It was not till the end of the sixteenth century that these were recognised as needing support or work, assistance in want or sickness, and incentive to work.

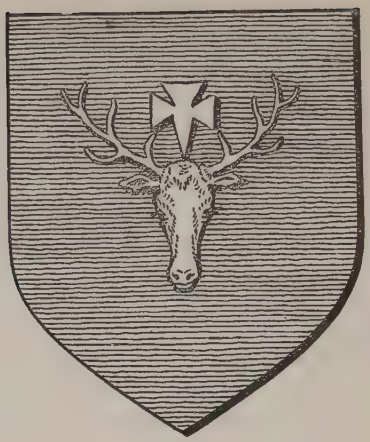
In cities like Exeter, where wealthy churchmen and merchants had created endowed and fostered numerous institutions for befriending the wretched lepers who hung at the

outskirts in squalid poverty and contempt, it is not so difficult to see how new needs would beget new charitable bequests, and where any lands or funds remained such hospitals were reorganized. Few can date back so far as that of S.S. Buriana and Alexis, founded by William FitzRalph in 1164 ; it survives, however, even now in a certain sense in S. John's School. There was the Calendarhay near the Cathedral where the brethren—whose office-book and roll of benefactors yet remains —dwelt under the special tutelage of the Bishops.

Down by the ancient Magdalen and the Jews' small cemetery stands still the restored proof of the generous heart of William Wynard, Recorder of Exeter, which from its foundation in 1439, after destruction in 1643, testifies to the munificence of the Kennaways, who re-built the Chapel in 1864.

In another direction and at even earlier date Simon Grendon had built his Ten Cells in the then more aristocratic but now more squalid street called Preston, which by a strange irony of fate were 400 years after transferred to the fresher air of Heavitree. Hursts and Lants Almshouses still tarry in their old haunts in Spiller St. and Bartholomew St., looking with jealous eye in their modest competence of comfort and provision across the little valley where the old cemetery of the city lies on the northern slope to the bold promontary whereon stands S. Michael's Church, who well appears to guard with noble spire the good old folk spending their latter days - fearless of rent-loving landlord—upon the breezy cliff above the rushing weirs of Exe. To attempt the history of the benefits granted in the snug and now rebuilt almshouses which bear the founders names—Attwell, Palmer, Lethbridge, Davye and Fley—is beyond our method; but one charitable bequest bears the name and spirit of a man who in troublous times and scenes of horror and cruel, although often official, murder cannot escape record. Griffith Ameridith, touched by the revolting scenes

he had witnessed at public executions of the wretched criminals whose bodies lay all stark naked at the gallows, left a charge upon certain land near Salcombe Regis for the supplying of shrouds to cover them. By the happy conversion of this gift some £16 worth of clothing is now provided for the living poor. Such a bequest must have been suggested to so kind a man by the sight which often met the traveller from Honiton on entering Exeter by the steep hill through Heavitree, where as he arrived over against Liverydole, after passing the chapel of S. Loys down in the pleasant meadows, there over against him stood the stake with the charred body of Drew Staynor "justly burnt." This rather peninsulate site where the roads diverge down Magdalen and the Rudgeway is occupied by the almshouses with their chapel which Sir Robert Dennis founded in 1591 for his famously greedy brother, Sir Thomas, for once to complete, rather than annex three years afterwards And in respect of charitable institutions, of every quality and value though Exeter does—as indeed she should set a noble example, every town and indeed many obscure villages have their fair supply. Plymouth has no reason to be ashamed of her "Old Church Twelves," which Leland recognised on the north side of the church, where the chapel was attached which Bishop Lacy licensed in 1450, in the midst of orchard, herb garden and fields, represented now by certain sums which the municipal authorities are pledged to spend on the sustenance of the occupants of their modern houses in Green Street.



DECANUS EXON.

CHAPTER VIII.

The principle of centralization for common interests and general energies was at no time more actively in practice than in the crises of national excitement as to religious and political possibilities which mark the 16th century. Exeter was the capital of the West: the Cathedral City, with her Mayor and Municipality; her Bishop and his retinue; her Capitular Church and Council, with widely-spread commercial and intellectual developments and connections with London and Rome, with throne and with people—in and about her gathered the historical evidences as well as the famous personages of that delicate period.

Amongst curious incidents, we read that the ship Mychell, named most probably after the Archangel S. Michael, of Brighton, at the end of the 15th century, had been washed ashore in Torbay, and the tenants of the Dean and Chapter had seized the cargo. The owners, however, were well known, and

an order came down, in the form of a sign manual, commanding them to deliver up all goods and merchandise.

In 1501 there was some mistake in the Calendar as to the observance of Easter, and the Dean had been sent to Salisbury to find out what was to be done. This appeal to the Church of S. Osmund, on the part of the Exeter Chapter, is a very curious corroboration of the truth of the sticklers for the paramount pre-eminence of Sarum Use throughout the southern province.

This the Dean had evidently done on his way to London, where he had been sent by his colleagues on some important business, but they did not treat him well, for, though he was there "fighting" for their benefit and probably, also, his own, at great trouble and expense, they proposed to withhold his daily commons and annual share of profits. It was a case of "blind greed." One thing he could tell them which was of interest—that the Friar Richardson was still in prison.

Doubtless those were days of great financial perplexity, and every conceivable pretext was adopted for the purpose of keeping up the stipends of the Residentiary Canons if any opportunity of doing so occurred through the absence of any of their brethren. Presumably the Bishop of Hippo, Suffragan to Bishop Veysey, was not in high favour with his fellow Canons, for they did all they could to deprive him of his due, until he lodged a complaint with the Crown. And the next time a misunderstanding arose on these things, the King's pleasure was actually and emphatically declared by his sign manual on behalf of his trusty, well-beloved Chapleyn, who was also his Ambassador and Agent unto our partes beyond the see for certeyn our affaires and necessary business there. He was none other than Simon Heynes.

On June 4th, 1537, he was installed in the Canonry and Prebend, vacant by the resignation of Reginald Pole, *per literas*

Regias, and was assigned his stall in the choir and place in Chapter House, and on August 3rd he protested, as the statutable term goes, that he wished to begin residence, and though he brought no caution money, as the statutes required, yet, so saith the formal record of the Chapter Clerk, was admitted.

Then an adjournment took place as soon as a quorum of canons could be got together, and Haynes proposed that they should agree to his leasing out the Decanal estates on certain conditions: namely, finding two chaplains at Landkey and Swimbridge, and hay and oats for ten horses for eight days and nights every year, which his tenants found for him and his servants, and repairing the barns.

The next Saturday, when a full chapter was present, the Dean determined to assert all his statutable rights of jurisdiction and of independence.

He did not like the system of patronage by "balls."

He could not be bound by the old superstitious rule of keeping the candle always burning before the High Altar

No Dean had ever paid caution money: why should he? The *annus post-mortem* by which arrangement the executors of his predecessor took the profits of the Deanery for one year after his decease made it impossible for him so to do.

The Chapter Seal should be fixed to no document except in his presence and with his consent.

The time and money spent in these disputes fell as a heavy burden upon all the parties concerned, and the Dean found that even under Royal protection, and that of no less a person than Henry VIII., he could not have his own way through immemorial statute and custom. Therefore in October it was agreed that the Bishop should arbitrate and the Dean should repudiate all his extravagant claims against the Chapter, and yet that in consideration of the "awful" influence and express

desire of His Royal Majesty Mr. Simon Haynes should have the advowson of Heavitree. Thus peace and concord eternal should be assured and he, S.H., undertook never to procure any Sygns Manual or in any way molest his brethren of the Chapter. This reads very well, but it must be confessed that the marginal quotations are slightly discomforting.

Mendacium, "a lie," writes one hand probably the clerk's in the margin, and another, "quoth the Deane," and another "verissimile est," quoth the Chapter. The very same day the Dean went to London on important business, returned in December, and immediately there began all over again the unseemly fracas as to his statutory rights.

Then they agreed to his having disciplinary power, probate, enjoyment of fees, right of installation, and many other privileges which no previous Dean had demanded, and some fourteen canons personally signed this Act, giving it their formal official sanction, the last being Tregonwell, whose ubiquity in Capitular business all over the Diocese and in London is exemplary.

It is in these apparently indifferent matters of Cathedral routine that much interest really lies, for according to ancient custom no member of the Church enjoyed his profits for twelve months after his installation, but Dean Haynes insisted on an alteration being made of this year, so that he might enjoy all his rights in the casting of balls for benefices.

Considering his marked Protestant proclivities, it is not surprising if the members of the Chapter jealously guarded their rights and obstinately refused to admit him. Canon Tregonwell went on commission of the Chapter with the King's letters to collect pence for the Fabric in Cornwall, but not till he had been to London with Archdeacon Carewe on the business before the Courts, and to buy the works of Jerome, Augustine, Josephus, Eusebius and Chrysostom.

The care and authentication of the documents was of no small importance as the Archdeacon was asked to take them to London to be approved by the Court of Augmentations.

More serious, however, was the position of affairs when the Canons realizing that they had appointed as their proctor to Convocation a man like their Dean diametrically opposed to their interests and of the most hostile deportment revoked their authority to S. Haynes, and declared that letters should be immediately sent him cancelling their dismissory powers. The conflict indeed was becoming fiercer day by day. The King knew that in sending down Haynes to the Chapter, he was attacking a hornets' nest of Roman partizans whose allegiance to his enemy was hereditary and staunch.

And in September, 1540, the indictment against his emissary, Haynes, came in a very unmistakeable document. He had borrowed £40 from the great chest to pay his caution fee. This might be arranged: but more than this; he had during the past year—1539-40—pulled down and destroyed, or caused to be so treated, some of the fair images of the saints which had been put up to ornament the church and had never been abused by superstition. (2.) He had taken, or caused to be taken away, over £40 worth of iron and brass memorials in the church. (3.) He had caused the choir books used for the Divine offices to be obliterated and cut up to the extent of 20 marks. (4.) He had disfigured the pillars, walls and pavement by his indiscriminate destruction of the said iron and brass figures and done an irreparable amount of mischief. (5.) And he had taken away the wax light which had for at least 200 years always burnt before the High Altar and the body of Christ according to due custom and the foundation deed of his office, and, to the very great scandal of the Church, had extinguished this light.

"After some altercation," the whole matter was, as before,

referred to arbitration, but, that not proving satisfactory, it was agreed to take the case to the Court at Westminster. If, however, the Bishop could arrange a compromise in the meantime, so much the better.

It does not look as if the ancient ritual was at all changed, as one of the very next entries is as to the dispensation to be granted to John Hungerford, the successor as regards his attendance at Mattins: he was excused once a week chiefly because he was very expert in mending the copes and other vestments.

In March, 1541, Charles Stokport, one of the Cathedral Clerks and Chantry Priests, reported that the Dean had not been in the church since the Vigil of S. Thomas the Apostle; it was decided that he had forfeited all his commons, and that they would defend any of their officials whom he might sue. Amidst all these serious complications business in minor matters was not overlooked, the Treasurer, Canon Sothern, being granted a lease of the rabbit warren at Dawlish at 6s. 8d., and a loan of £100 being made to Sir Gawen Carewe in the surety of Archdeacon Carewe, who, it would seem, wrote it with his own hand. This financial accommodation was to be final, and measures were to be taken to enforce payment from Sir Hugh Stocley, who owed the Chapter £36 13s. 4d., but Canon Pollard and Archdeacon Carewe became sureties. And though the days were so perilous and fear and anxiety seem to have dictated measures of even questionable probity in the treatment of the capitular estates and funds, one of the Chapter was so little apprehensive of any change in things ecclesiastical that in January, 1543, he (Canon Wyse) asked permission to build a chapel or vestry, presumably on the South side of the choir for the vestments and other necessaries used by the celebrants and Chantry Priests. Sure signs of disintegration were at hand, and, as

we now know, names of ominous import appear as taking part in the administrative management of the manors appropriated to the Cathedral Body. In March, Sir John Russell, keeper of the Privy Seal, was appointed Chapter Steward for Devon and Cornwall, an incidental appointment reminding us of the wide and extensive range of property which gave the great Ecclesiastical Corporation in the West so much influence in the country villages, and brought the Church and her officials into such continual contact, if not conflict, with all classes of the community.

On Archdeacon Carew fell, as we gather from the records of this busy age, not merely the responsibility of attending Convocation, but entertaining distinguished visitors, which he had done in the persons of certain officers and grooms of the Star Chamber, in good style to the credit of the Church: *humanissime*, in the most gentlemanly way. For this he was voted ten marks. A matter too of some pecuniary and official importance was now discussed. What were the feasts on which the Dean, *causa majoris dignitatis*, was bound to execute the office? It was decided that they were Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter Eve, Easter Day, Ascension Whitsun Eve, Whit Sunday, Trinity, Corpus Christi, S. Peter and Paul, S. Peter ad Vinc., Assumption, Octave of Assumption, S. Gabriel, S. Raphael, Dedication of All Saints, Christmas, Epiphany, Candlemas and on the following obits—Moore, Bishop Walter, Bishop Stafford, Dean Webber, Bishop Britton, Bishop Lacy, Stapledon, King Athelstan, Andrew Kilkenny, Bishop Oldham, Bishop Both, Hugh Courteny, Bishop Brentingham, Bishop Martin, Bishop Neville.

But the crisis was at hand; security there was none. The only way to secure any provision to themselves was to grant leases to their servants for twenty-one years with sureties, and so evade or prevent the wholesale spoliation of their vested

rights. The same day (it was in August, 1545) Lord Russell asked for the office of bailiff for his servant Roger, and went so far as not merely to write on his behalf but canvas the Canons himself in person. Cash was scarce indeed. The Dean did not hesitate to charge his Canons with embezzling the treasure of the Mother Church, and again threatened them with the King's 'pleasure,' so that there was something more than noise in the portentous epithet which was applied to Sir Thomas Speke when they described him in the indenture of the lease which the Bishop had granted him of the manor of Paynton as a gentleman of the Privy Chamber of the most terrible (*metuendissmi*) Prince Henry. It may be mentioned here that according to ancient statute every grant of the Bishop had to be confirmed by the Dean and Chapter and every grant of the Dean and Chapter by the Bishop, though in this case, at least, it is significant that Crispyn and Moreman were non-contents.

Council in these emergencies was to be taken with their brethren of the churches of S. Andrew at Wells, and so Canon Reynolds (afterwards Dean) received 20s. for his expenses to ride there. Concessions mutual and agreeable to all parties concerned were made as to residence, and those who remained in the Close employed their time in granting every description possible of deed whereby the Capitular estates might be ingeniously disposed of, Crediton and Morchard Bishop going to "Mister Darcy"; other lands and tenements to Mr. Killigrew in Cornwall.

Urgent, indeed, were some applicants for stalls and honours, Mr. John Lytelton, a Prebendary, coming on June 22, 1549, into the Chapter House with his caution money in his hand and though there was no house vacant begging to be admitted at once to residence. It was impossible as the next vacant house had been promised to the Venerable Dr. Morgan, though

they were all very well disposed in his favour because he brought letters from the most Illustrious Prince, the Duke of Somerset and Bishop Veysy. In fact the candidate won the day and celebrated his victory, making the whole entry in his own handwriting.

But a short time before it had been agreed that twenty days of residence should be accounted as thirty-six, and now that three kept continuously or separately should do for twenty.

"The Witless fool" (to borrow Cromwell's somewhat cynical description of Reginald Pole) who was elected to the Dean's seat in the Choir of the Cathedral Church of S. Peter in Exeter on 12th August, 1527, in the person of his proxy, John Bulcomb, was neither distinguished in the internal affairs of his church nor prominent in the Diocese of Exeter. Unlike his immediate successor S. Haynes, who came as the drastic iconoclast of the Cathedral superstitions, he was simply collated to the dignity that he might enjoy the emoluments of the highest office at Exeter.

His efforts were like those of Cranmer earnestly directed to the Reformation of the English Church on the principles of the old Canon Law, but with the express view of her reunion with the Church of Rome.

When in 1556, just 20 years after his deprivation, he addressed his remarkable exhortation to this end to the most Serene Majesties Philip and Mary, Defenders of the Faith and to the whole Kingdom of England, he had not forgotten his ten years' connection, tame though it was, with a Cathedral establishment of the old Foundation, in which from time immemorial the honored family to which he was so near allied by blood had always had a splendid chantry and an altar tomb. Stung with the reproachful term of "traitor to his kinsmen," in the safe refuge of the Italian Court his purpose gained courage and found speech in counsel which earns ready

acceptance. Even at this very day the reformer who is keenly set on restoring a great Cathedral Institution like that of Exeter to the primitive perfection and energy of early days and of enforcing discipline among the clergy from the very highest rank to that of the less eminent if equally worthy parish priest, cannot resist the force of the high standard set by the Cardinal for the Church of England.

There is a copy of a contemporary edition in the Library of the Mother Church at Exon which is from its very condition and size extremely valuable. The earlier treatises have escaped comparatively speaking the diligent notation of the clerk, for canon he undoubtedly was, and a member of the Cathedral body, if we are not mistaken, the hand posts being identical with many found in the Cathedral documents. Of these none was more industrious than Canon Hutchinson, who, brought up as a staunch child of the Ancient Faith, has left his mark on the century, at least in the Church of Exeter. This copy of the works of the Cardinal Legate has been in the library, according to the old catalogues, from the end of the 16th century, and bears unmistakeable marks of his study. Specially on the matter of the authority of the Lateran and Florentine Councils, and on the Sacraments are his handmarks vigorous and emphatic, and as to the necessity of always keeping the light burning before the Blessed Host by night and day his digital emphasis is singularly attractive when we remember that the perpetual burning of this lamp was specially enjoined on the Deans of Exeter by the deed of appropriation of Braunton Church, a stipulation of which Dean Raynolds complains bitterly in his rejoinder to the Chapter when they would deprive him of his quotidians on account of his absence at Oxford. In very many churches this canonical order had been ignored and the funds dedicated to the purpose taken away. The Cardinal who indeed had given Dean Raynolds his dispensation insisted on the restora-

tion of this ancient use. It is to be noted also that when as in the Third Decree any allusion is made to the Cathedral Churches of the Kingdom the marginal sigla and pen and ink drawings of crossed fingers become closer and more firm. In this passage the word "hortamur" is forcibly written in the corner of the page; on the next where he is speaking of the shocking abuses of the ministerial office, and the fact is suggested that whereas fear of God does not move some to do their duty the dread of punishment may move them, he says: "We do renew all the ecclesiastical general, as well as particular, constitutions of the kingdom and will proceed to deprivation," and from the words which immediately follow in the next section we may almost conclude that this passage was actually underlined by one of the Canons at the very time that this dispute was taking place about the daily commons which the Chapter withheld from their absent President; while on the other hand great importance is obviously attached by the reader to the saving clause, which says that those who hold dignities in the Church may be absent on any reasonable and careful cause if permission is granted by the majority of the Chapter. Certainly, if Canons were absent for any length of time, part of their stipend was to be extracted and devoted to the college or school connected with the Church, and in this matter of quotidians or daily commons it is most distinctly declared that they are for those who personally take part in the services of the Church.

The only exception is in the case of study, and this was undoubtedly the legitimate plea of the Dean, inasmuch as he was chosen by the Cardinal to reform the University.

The other passages which have received most attention are those on the life and character of the clergy, the iniquity of their marriage, the necessity of careful examination and selection of candidates for Holy Orders, the evils of simony then so prevalent, the abuses of leasing out spiritual offices,

the necessity of establishing theological colleges in every Cathedral Church.

The conciliatory moderation, combined with firmness, which was shown by Pole in these decrees given from Lambeth early in 1556, seems scarcely consistent with the uncompromising severity shewn by Mary and her advisers in the persecutions and punishments of the Protestant Bishops.

The citizens of Exeter, however, were no whit behind the noble families of the counties in their loyalty to the Crown, and even if many both in village and town loved the old Faith, when duty called, they were as ready to fight the Spaniards by sea as they were to defend or relieve the representative Royal Standard which waved on the Guildhall and Rougemont, from the wild bands of Cornish rebels who dashed up to the walls.

"This little Cytie," says Hoker the Chamberlain, "whiche in antiquytie is not inferior to others hathe from tyme to tyme felte the smartes and chaunges of all tymes and endured greate troubles, daungers, extremyties, and perills, and yet God regardinge their faythe and obedience to theire Prince and commonwealthe before all other sacrifices hathe defended and preserved them, allwaies rewardynge them with immortall fame, for whiche his greate Benyfittes his name be praised for ever and ever."

If these words were, as seems highly probable, written about the year 1570 they find corroboration in the lamentable cry of another eminent student of contemporary history not only in Devon but in London and Oxford. Dean Raynolds, who had been elected High Commissioner for the Reformation of the University by Cardinal Pole, refers in terms of unmistakeable despair to the social and religious condition of the country in his correspondence with the Chapter as to his rights and privileges and to fully understand this we must go

back to the day when the mischievous work of spoliation had been taken in hand by Royal mandate.

By the year 1515 Hugh Oldham, whose lavishly decorated effigy in St. Saviour's Chapel appears as the final apogee of the rich beauty of the old Catholic rites, made way for John Veysy, alias Harman, whose matured powers of diplomacy and experience in address gained him the see of Exon at the age of 50, after holding the honourable offices of President of the Council of the Welsh marches and the private tutorship of the Princess Mary, in all which places of distinction his obsequious deference to the bidding of his Royal Master can have received no greater shock than the Commission to Thomas Crumwell and certainly yielded no less magnificent an obedience than his alienation of all the manors and estates belonging to the See. This act of conciliatory submission was but emphasized by his surrender of the See itself into the hands of King Edward in 1551, and if such a principle had been thus complacently admitted in all matters connected with the Church it is not difficult to imagine what would have been the position of the Church of England at the present day. But the Cornishmen, like many of their Devon brethren, were made of sterner stuff. The utter subversion of all their dearest customs of worship, the drastic destruction of all the outward and visible signs and symbols of the Catholic Faith, which from time immemorial had been sown, had grown, flourished and born fruit in their very soil, that these should be by one act of imperious tyranny violently wrested from them was an intolerable insult and injury to God and His Church. "We will keep the old religion like our forefathers" was their very plausible demand. And this was the way they set about it.

On Whit Sunday, 1549, June 9th, the new Liturgy was by Act of Parliament to be read in all churches and chapels instead of the Mass, the vestments were apparently to be no

more used and the ancient rites were illegal. This little suited the good folk at Sampford Courtenay, a village near Dartmoor, about 16 miles from Exeter. Vestments their parish priest should wear and the Mass they would have. Great was the joy and loud the clapping of hands in the neighbouring parishes when this was known, and widely the example of Sampford Courtenay people followed. The Justices of the Peace met and could not agree between themselves on the course to be taken; and in haste the Council sent down Sir Peter and Sir Gawen Carew to appease the people. A Flemish gentleman called Hellions, living near Sampford, tried to dissuade the mob, but was knocked down and cut to pieces. At Crediton the main body of malcontents collected, but on two barns on the roadside to Exeter, being fired by the retainers of Sir Hugh Pollard, they fled, and, the news of this injudicious act being widely spread and exaggerated, crowds of countrymen flocked to the rebel camp from far and near, the villages were fortified and all law defied. In another direction fuel was added to the insurrection, Mr. Walter Raleigh coming through St. Mary Clist, two miles from Exeter, on the south, overtook an old woman going to church, beads in hand, and promptly advised her to forsake her blind superstitions: upon this she hastened to alarm the neighbours, who vowed vengeance, and, overtaking him before he reached Exeter, caught him and locked him up in the tower of St. Sidwell's Church, where many other hostages remained till things were again quiet.

Success now attending the rebels in Devon, a fruitless conference was held at Clist St. Mary bridge between them and Sir Thomas Dennis, Sir Hugh Pollard and Mr. Thomas Yarde. The Mayor informed the timid loyalists that the city, from lack of victuals, could not withstand a siege and advised them to flee, which they did, leaving the roads to Exeter open to the rebel forces, which instantly blockaded the city, under

the command of Underhill, a tailor; Maunder, a shoemaker; Seager, a labourer; and Asheridge, a fish hawker. The sixth and most severe siege of this famous city now began. The besiegers were a motley lot of two thousand men, some of whom believed that they were fighting for Heaven against Hell and others who looked forward to plunder. The besieged were by no means unanimous as to the decision of their Mayor to defend the city might and main, but, as to the need of provisions, there was no variety of opinion. They were in great straits when Sir Thomas Pomeroy, John Berry and Mr. Coffin, a "gentleman of fortune," joined by Humphrey Arundell, Governor of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, and Winneslade and Holmes, with many other notable worthies of the counties, came up with haste and strengthened the hands of the attacking force.

Within the city the disaffected Papists vainly attempted to possess the South Gate and bribe the guards, while, through the interests of three merchants who were with him, Lord Russell procured assistance and set out to meet the rebels at Feniton, where, after a sharp fight, they were defeated and fled with a loss of three hundred men.

On the 3rd of August, being reinforced by Lord Grey and Colonel Spinola, Lord Russell marched towards Woodbury Hill, and the next day a desperate engagement ensued, in which the King's army was eventually victorious, though they lost their artillery and stores. Thanks to an ingenious stratagem of Sir Thomas Pomeroy, however, the King's men returned to the attack, the rebels were defeated, Clist St. Mary burnt, and, as a last but well-nigh unpardonable resource, to strike terror into the hearts of their foes, all prisoners in the hands of Lord Russell were slain.

The rebels nothing daunted, their valour and stoutness being very remarkable, once more rushed against the Royal forces, and, after a bloody defeat, fled, only to rally yet again at

Sampford Courtenay and again to suffer a terrible disaster. Lord Russell then marched into Cornwall; on his return the principal officers of the rebel army were tried, convicted and executed in London, the rank and file at Exeter. The poorer people were pardoned and sent home.

The Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, near Exeter, bore for some years a ghastly testimony to this terrible episode, Welsh, the vicar, having been hung on a gibbet, erected on the tower of the church, for having a Protestant called Kingwell hanged on Exe Island, and being a ringleader in the rebellion.

It is worthy of mention that while Lord Russell's camp was pitched on Woodbury Common, Miles Coverdale was present as Chaplain, and was in the act of preaching a thanksgiving sermon, when there came a new alarm and it was suddenly concluded.

On August 6th the siege of Exeter was raised and the day was afterwards known as Jesuits' Day, but for what reason it is not easy to discover.

The municipal authorities, with banner and insignia, walked in procession to the Cathedral, where a suitable sermon was preached by the Mayor's Chaplain and the bells were rung.

The recent reference to Miles Coverdale introduces the history of his occupancy of the See, to which he was appointed by the Crown on August 14th, 1551. A fortnight afterwards he was consecrated by Archbishop Cranmer, and obtained dispensation from Edward VI. for himself and his wife to eat flesh during prohibited times as long as they lived. An Erastian by persuasion, a zealous Reformer by conviction, he resembled in other respects his facile predecessor Veysy in his feeble resistance to Royal despotic interference in his episcopal functions. Obviously, consecration of buildings was immaterial in his eyes: one Antony Randall, whom he made deacon in December, 1551, he immediately commissioned to preach the word of God in Latin or English in any church or

other decent places throughout the diocese. The next year he repeatedly ordained men, deacons and priests in the same day. Utilitarian was the spirit of the age: the treasures of God were perverted to the necessities of men, over £200 worth of plate belonging to the churches of the City of Exeter being applied to the use of making the canal.

His translation of the Bible is his chief claim to the gratitude of the Church.

When in 1554 Queen Mary came to the throne, one of her first acts was the release of Lord Courtenay; but when the prison doors opened for him they closed on Bishop Coverdale for exercising his Episcopal functions, and on October 9th, 1555, at the ringing of the great bell in the North tower of the Cathedral Church of S. Mary and S. Peter at Exeter, there came together at the proper and usual canonical hour, being 10 o'clock, the Venerable John Rixman, Precentor, and in the absence of the Dean, President of the Chapter, Chancellor Leveson, Treasurer Sotheran, William Bishop of Hippo, John Blaxton, Sub-Dean, and Canon Stephyns. Immediately Canon Stephyns exhibited his proxy, given under the seal of James Turbervile, Bishop Elect of Exeter, and said that the Right Reverend Father's election had been confirmed by His Holiness Paul IV., and by the Right Reverend Father in Christ Edmund Bishop of London. He said moreover that the Venerable Nicholas Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, to whom the installation and enthronization of all the Bishops in the Province of Canterbury, by right as well as by ancient and laudable and prescriptive custom belong, had, being himself detained by important business and so prevented from so installing and enthroning the said Rev. Father, written letters under his seal to Precentor Rixman and Treasurer Sotheran, authorizing them to induct the said Father James or his lawful Proctor into the lawful, real, and corporal possession of all the

rights, &c., of the Cathedral Church, and he begged Canon Rixman to at once accede to the Archdeacon's request.

Accordingly, after the reading of the mandate, all the clergy of the Cathedral Church were summoned, and with cross and candles set forth in solemn procession. Two Canons led the Bishop's proxy from the Chapter House to the Choir, the Choristers meanwhile reciting *submissa voce* the psalms *Deus misereatur* and *Miserere mei Deus*, and so entering the Choir they went up to the High Altar, where the Bishop's proxy then and there falling upon his knees before the Adorable Eucharist (*coram venerabili Eucharistia in genua procumbente*), the Ven. Canon Sotheron explained in English to those present the tenor of his commission and the cause of the assembly.

He then kissed the altar and being led to the Bishop's Throne was made to sit down therein, by which act the possession of the See was assigned to him.

This ceremony was no sooner completed than the Te Deum was sung. The procession was re-formed and proceeded to the Chapter House when the highest place (*supremus locus*) was assigned to the Bishop's proxy on his behalf.

The exceptional interest of this installation quite justifies the entry made by the notary public on this occasion, that not only was the Worshipful Maurice Levermore, Mayor of the City, present with some of the Aldermen but a great number of the citizens, *copiosa multitudo*

And now the change of religion was manifestly felt in town and hamlet. Commissions issued throughout the Western counties for the deprivation or suspension of the clergy whose views were not in a pronounced degree in favour of the Queen's Faith.

Cardemaker, afterwards the martyr, was instantaneously ejected from Branscombe: the infamous Blaxton supplanted Pollard, Archdeacon of Barum, in the living of Widecombe-in-the-Moor. Here long lists of deprivations occur with painful

persistency, and these explain the resolution which was carried in the Chapter on April 8th, 1553, that any Canon who had to go to London or elsewhere on business and was detained thereby or imprisoned, should receive his daily commons just as if he or they were in residence.

On January 24th the most Reverend in Christ Reginald Pole resigned the Deanery, and within a few days Thomas Raynolds was elected in his stead.

A visitation of the Cathedral Church at once commenced, all officers thereof were called upon to produce their titles and Apostolic dispensations. The fight waxed hot with Henry Morgan, who had just been consecrated Bishop of S. Davids, and nevertheless considered himself entitled to the full emoluments of his canonry, while as a curious comment on the contemporary and present abuses of the conscience the following may well be handed down to posterity.

Be hyt knowen to all persons to whom this present writing shall come that whereas I, John Pollarde, of the county and citie of Excetter, clerke, have receaved of the Deane & Chapter certeyne unces of broken sylve parcel gylt and dyvers copes and vestments of the treasure and goods appertayniynge to the said Cathedral church in as full and large wyse as any other the prebendaries dyd I the said J. Pollard of my conscience do promyse to restore and rendre all and syngular agayne in as ample and large a manner as any other prebendaries have done.

This and many more similar hints of appropriation shew the feeling which actuated the trustees of the Established Church at this startling crisis. It is the province of other histories to relate the distraught and wretched condition of the country when the University town of Oxford was, according to Dean Reynolds, full of starving beggars; "of the King's return," quoth he, "there was no certainty, the price of things was rising daily."

The Bishop himself was in no better spirits: his lamentation to his dear brethren of the Chapter complains bitterly how all

the Episcopal revenues were come to nought, everything everywhere laid waste and in ruin, and whereas this glorious church was of old served by grave, aged, well-tried and venerable priests whose very presence infused reverence and honor, all forsook her and fled.

And yet it is extremely interesting to note how in the very climax of desperate agony which to the minds of these good men the Church of England had come, the Dean writes to say how they had found a verie honest man to be the master of the children of the choir and how shamefully they, the canons, had treated him in refusing him even two or three oaks from Stoke wood when they gave timber freely to the gentlemen of the county, so that indeed as it appeared to him they cared not if his horses stood out in the roughest weather at his door.

What with great store of poor in the University town and the miserable defaced and impoverished state of things in this "schismatical time," or as it was condemned by another loyal member of the Chapter, in this "naughty tyme of schism," it is not surprising if by the last day of January when they heard from Dean Reynolds at Westminster, all hope of brighter prospects had vanished.

"It is thought, he writes, that the Parliament will not continewe. The Quene's highness is in health *et per sapientiam fortius fert jacturam Calici quam mulieris infirmitas possit.* Our Lorde be hers and all our buckler and shylde and send you all longe to praye and come to procession for that and amendment of life must be the greatest thing we must trust to."

But nothing was left to the once rich corporation save their jewels, and in their own graphic language they were so well skinned that the fat was gone for many yeres. They were served with constant writs by the Sheriff for debts to the Exchequer: in April, 1559, they were at their wits end to supply cures on account of the scarcity of priests, and as to statutable hospitality, with provisions at their present prohibitive price, it was an impossibility.

BISHOP VEYSEY,
A.D. 1519-1551, AND 1553-4

CHAPTER IX.

The necessities of the nation at the most alarming crisis in the reign of Elizabeth were the opportunity for the sons of Devon to shew their strength and daring with sword and pen.

The immense energy of the popular demand for Reformation must have wrecked the State no less than the Church had not the pluck of Grenville, Drake and Ralegh thwarted the designs of Rome and Spain, and Jewel, by his indefatigable eloquence and deep learning, built up a bulwark which not all the powers of the Council of Trent could storm. With him was another offspring of the rich soil of Devon—Hoker. It is to these men that by God's Providence the Church of England and the kingdom preserve to this day freedom, immunity from a foreign yoke, and soundness of faith as an inheritance of their noble ambition.

The history of the defeat of the Armada was what Macaulay calls his poem of that name, merely "a fragment" in the history of this country, but it must not be forgotten that the credit of its defeat and utter annihilation belongs to the

churchmen of the Western Counties, and that from the Hoe of Plymouth went the men who wrought havoc in the proud fleet and provoked the very victory they won by entering the port of Cadiz and "singeing the King of Spain's beard."

If any should say that the events of this critical day do not come within the scope of a religious history, let him consider the real reason of the invasion. Philip's preparations, consequent on the violent encouragement of Pope Sixtus, were carried on at an unusual cost in every port of Portugal; in Naples and Sicily men and arms were collected to swell the armament which the Duke of Parma was to lead to the conquest of schismatic England. But the loyalty of her Catholic officers was never doubted by Elizabeth: her chief admiral was of the old faith, and when the winds blew nothing could resist the pluck of the British Fleet and the tempests of heaven. With the former the King of Spain had believed he could reckon by the multitude of his host, but against the latter he had no hope. Indeed a wholesome enthusiasm in the West was keen for war and revenge. It can never be said that the exploits of Sir Francis Drake have no bearing or place in a history of the religious condition of the diocese when we remember that on his return in the Pascha on Sunday, August 9th, 1573, he sailed into Plymouth Bay, after an absence of 14 months, and that the whole congregation of St. Andrew's parish church fled from the building to greet him. This spasmodic but quite spontaneous exhibition of love and admiration is significant. A consciousness of danger, national risk was abroad in the hearts of the people: restless impatience of Roman tyranny and an horrible dread of a repetition of the Marian cruelties chilled the people. A spirit resolute and invincible was that which the English nation longed for, and in Francis Drake they found it. His expedition to Ireland received no less a recognition than the favourable notice of Sir Christopher Hatton, and there is

little doubt that thus he was brought to the notice of Queen Elizabeth and encouraged to set out on the grand expedition in quest of fortune "which filled his vessels with the spoils of the richest Spanish settlements." Prayers of good stout-hearted soldiers and sailors have been heard aye and answered from many a topmast, cockpit and battlefield, but Drake's prie-Dieu, a tall palm tree on a mountain, in the Isthmus of Darien, where he fervently prayed to God, was unlike any other then in use. And what was its purpose? That God would grant him life and leave to sail an English ship in those seas. The "glorious-dangerous" voyage which he now attempted with a goodly fleet of five vessels and 164 able and sufficient men lacked nothing of good promise, unless it be that the over-ostentatious shew of expert musicians, new furniture and vessels for the table was too lavish a display of the luxury and magnificence of his native country. A storm at the very setting of sail opposed them, and, having suffered much loss, they did not sail again till December 13th, 1577.

A singular succession of successes, valuable booties and remarkable adventures attended the progress of the English Fleet until after coasting California, they proceeded northward in the hopes of finding a passage to the Atlantic.

Drake crowned, and, decorated with chains, surrounded by a noisy throng of swarthy natives acknowledging him as their king, must have lost that equable discretion which, with all his fiery impetuosity, stood him often in good stead, for he took the Royal responsibilities upon himself and called the land Nova Albion, erecting a plate of brass on a firm post declaring the various incidents of their arrival and acquisition of the country, bearing the arms of Queen Elizabeth and his own escutcheon.

Running hence eastward to the Moluccas, he was received by the king of the islands, who, as an unexpected testimony to the other side of Drake's character and work, declared that

they and he were all of one religion in this respect, that they believed not in gods made of stocks and stones.

Luck again attended the plucky sailor, and, after many losses and dangers, he entered Plymouth Harbour on November 3rd, after an absence of two years, ten months, twenty days. The riches brought home were immense: whether they were obtained legally or otherwise, Royal no less than popular opinion did not for some time decide, but when on April 14th, 1581, the Queen herself dined aboard the Admiral's ship at Deptford, his coming honors (he was knighted) were but prognosticated. Four years afterwards he was placed in command of 20 ships, with which he attacked the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, bringing home on this occasion the few inhabitants of the settlement established by Sir Walter Ralegh in Virginia, which was in a most lamentable condition. On this expedition the most sanguine hopes of the nation were more than satisfied, but the climax of honor was attained in the subsequent naval victories of 1587 and 1588, so well known to all readers of English history and romance, to which department indeed such famous exploits rather belong. Here, however, there is reason to record the heartfelt expressions of the man whom England always regards as one of her deliverers at this most serious crisis, when, as in this case, they may be had. A letter exists, written by Sir Francis Drake to Mr. John Fox, which proves unmistakeably what his ideas were of the efficacy of prayer and the importance of Divine aid in all his undertakings.

The later expeditions of 1595, owing to jealousies between the officers in command, met with less success, Sir John Hawkins dying of a broken heart within sight of Porto Rico, while the excellent aim of the gunners of the same port lodged a cannon ball in the cabin where the admiral and his officers sat at dinner, killing Sir Thomas Orfford, wounding Captain Stratford and knocking the stool from under Sir

Francis Drake. The subsequent assaults and expeditions by land were equally unpropitious, and, returning to the ships, Sir Francis himself succumbed to fatigue, remorse and fever, in the 51st year of his age on January 28th, 1595, and was buried at sea.

Many are the old and affectionate traditions of the valiant sailor which still linger around Buckland Abbey, but nothing more substantially or suitably commemorates the peculiar prowess of the Devon sea captain than his sword, drum and Bible, on the edges of which an inscription is indented, declaring that this volume had accompanied him round the world.

His ideas of distance and how it might be overcome both with and upon water, receive no more curious and practical illustration than in the leat or watercourse which supplies Plymouth—the starting point of so many of his bold voyages Knowing well the inexhaustible supplies of Dartmoor, he obtained an Act of Parliament in the 29th year of Elizabeth, granting him power to convey a stream from the Mew, near Sheepstor, and actually had it cut and the water conveyed by a circuitous route along hillsides, moors, bogs for a distance of over 24 miles direct to the edge of the bay for the supply of the town, and specially so that seamen might with greater ease supply their ships with pure water.

It is impossible to doubt that with a stout heart and resolute faith in the good and well established teaching of the Church he combined a natural generosity and determination which he devoted to the service of his country, though a thankful nation has taken 300 years to do honor to his name by erecting his statue on the very ground (that king of sea-port sites) upon the Hoe where Captain Fleming, *auctore Carolo Kingsley*, rushed in, crying out, as he upset a drawer with all his glasses, " My Lord, my Lord ! They're coming ; I saw them off the Lizard last night." If one additional

testimony is necessary to prove his right to be considered a faithful son of the Church it is not far to find in the motto which Queen Elizabeth gave him with his coat of arms :—

Sable, a fess wavy, between two polar stars argent, and for his crest, a ship on a globe, under full sail, held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds: over it "Auxilio divino": underneath, "Sic Parvis magna."

"Westward Ho"! is within the reach of every child in these days and in Chapter XXI. let him read of England's victory won from Plymouth Hoe.

Of Sir Walter Ralegh it can scarcely be said as of Sir Francis Drake that he lived by the sea, died on it and was buried under it, but his early life in the quiet village of East Devon at East Budleigh, near the sea, and his intrepid and indefatigable successes as a navigator, gave him such confidence that it is difficult to say whether his accomplishments shew most of the heart of the sailor, the soldier, the scholar or the courtier, being at both sea and on land a pattern of industry. With the hereditary reputation which he enjoyed, both on his father's and mother's side, and the distinguished examples and assistance of Sir John, Sir Humphrey, and Sir Adrian Gilbert, the sons of his mother by her first marriage, nothing was lacking but natural abilities to secure for Walter Ralegh an honourable career, and in these qualities he was certainly in no sense deficient.

His early life spent in the cause of the Huguenots with Henry Champernoun, his uncle, in the troop of gentlemen volunteers whom the Queen Elizabeth sent to assist the Queen of Navarre under the motto, "Let valour decide the cause," prepared him for the services of a less honourable but perhaps as necessary expedition in Ireland under Lord Grey de Wilton and the Earl of Ormond.

At 30 years of age his own merits, which the Queen was not slow to realize, and (if the old story may be believed), first

more specially appreciated when "stopt by splashy place" she stept gently on his new plush cloak, unconsciously kindled his ambition and that promise of success which he had daringly expressed upon the window pane for Her Majesty's reading :—

"Fain would I climb but yet fear I to fall;" to which she replied :—

"If thy heart fail thee climb not at all" at once received guarantee of something like permanence by the Queen's commission to assist Sir Humphrey Gilbert in the discovery of foreign parts. The bark Ralegh sailed from Plymouth, then a comparatively obscure port.

Within a year, on June 11th, 1583, he returned with news of a country which he had named in honor of his Royal patron, Virginia, and in 1588 the Invincible Spanish Armada furnished him with the opportunity of his highest deeds of prowess. Civil duties were, however, not outside his reach, for he represented Devon in the Parliament of 1584, became Steward of the counties of Devon and Cornwall and Master of the Stannaries. The disastrous gallantry, which in so many great men of the same stamp have marred the fair course of unimpeachable chivalry, did not in Sir Walter suffer him to enjoy the dangerous idleness of the Court, and after his release from prison, in search of new lands and honors, he sailed again from Plymouth in 1595, and, taking possession of New Guinea, reinstated himself in the Queen's favor, though the extravagant descriptions of treasures of gold and silver to be brought home were never fully satisfied nor the fictitious accounts of his discoveries verified.

The storm, however, was over: his mistress' brow more smooth: after his eclipse he shone brighter at Court, and when the great English Fleet was sent to scatter the remains of the Spanish Armada in the spring of 1596, the fourth squadron was commanded by Sir Walter Ralegh. His

subsequent successes under Queen Elizabeth need no telling here, but on the accession of James I. to the throne the strength of his higher principles as a Christian rather than as a soldier were tested, and, though neither wit nor courage failed him in his defence when put upon his trial at Winchester in November, 1603, he was condemned and for 14 years remained a prisoner in the Tower. But such a bird in a cage could not but sing in pleading notes for liberty. "God only shall your Majesty imitate herein, in giving Liberty to such a one from whom there can be no Retribution." The "first letter that His Majesty ever received from a dead man" had the desired effect, and once again Sir Walter was at sea, sighting the coasts of Guinea in November, 1617, but irreparable disaster overtook this unfortunate expedition from the first and by the death of his son, 'to say the truth' in his own words 'all the respects of the world had taken end in him.' The hopes of Gondamar were now fully achieved, when Ralegh, on his return from his last expedition, betrayed by Sir Lewis Stukeley and captured in the very act of foolishly attempting to escape the vengeance of his jealous enemies at Court, had nothing to say in defence but the pardon of his recent commission, and in a few hours was brought to the scaffold on October 29th, 1618, a sacrifice to the wish of James I. for the advancement of peace with Spain.

That any admirer ever so sanguine could defend all his actions through his widely varied experiences of life is impossible. But that the religious convictions of Sir Walter Ralegh were merely an ordinary acquiescence in the orthodox teaching of the Church in which he was brought up it is difficult to believe. Poetical adroitness, scholarly diction and style will not account for all the expressions of devout faith which are found in his "Pilgrimage," nor were his parting words upon the scaffold the artificial proprieties of a hypocrite, whose courage was fortified by a pipe of tobacco. His

epigrammatic piety had nothing of whining pessimism in this : — "The world itself is but a large prison, out of which some are daily selected for execution" or the simple lines : —

But from this earth, this grave, this dust
The Lord will raise me up, I trust.

Dr. Townson, Dean of Westminster, who attended him, observed that he was the most fearless of death that ever was known and the most resolute and confident, yet with reverence and conscience. These were his last words :—"And now I intreat you all to join with me in prayer, that the Great God of Heaven whom I have grievously offended, being a man full of all vanity, and have lived a sinful life in all sinful callings, having been a soldier, a captain, a sea captain and a courtier, which are all places of wickedness and vice—That God, I say, would forgive me and cast away my sins from me, and that he would receive me into everlasting life. So I take my leave of you all making my peace with God." It is not too much to say that even with all the faults of Sir Walter Ralegh, the justice of England was never so degraded as by his judicial murder.

It is somewhat remarkable that there are at least two works specially connected with Devonshire by authorship, which portray in the most pathetic and exquisite language the condition of the human heart under extreme circumstances of peril and fear and of approaching death, in both instances men of tender, refined natures being the subject of these memoirs. These are Ralegh's remains and the Eikon Basilike.

Take for example this : —

Christ pleads His Death, and then we live,
Be thou my speaker, taintless Pleader,
Unblotted Lawyer, true Proceeder.

or again :—

And this mine eternal Plea
To Him that made Heav'n, Earthe and Sea,
That since my Flesh must die so soon

And want a Head to dine next noon,
Just at the Stroak, when my veins start and spread
Set on my Soul an Everlasting Head.
Then am I ready like a Palmer fit
To tread those blest Paths which before I writ;
Of Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell,
Who oft doth think must needs die well.

In his last letter to his wife, which is full of expressions of affectionate foresight and devotion, he wrote:—"Beg my dead body, which living was denied you and either lay it in Sherborn or in Exeter Church by my Father and Mother." This wish was not fulfilled, his corpse being carried to St. Margaret's, Westminster, and there buried near the High Altar.

But if any debt of gratitude be even owing to the sceptic and apostate who provokes the eloquence and wisdom of Christian apologists, Thomas Harding has earned many thanks for the incomparable reply of Jewell to his insolent challenge, as well as for the uncompromising rebuke which his youthful and all unfortunate pupil, Lady Jane Grey, administered to him for his recalcitrant hypocrisy. Oh! wretched and unhappy man: Oh! sink of sin! Oh! child of perdition. Mark, my friend (yea! friend if thou be not God's enemy!) there is no Trinity but where Christ knitteth the knot: concluding her letter, which was certainly neither deficient in length or acrimony, with this distich:—

Be constant, be constant, fear not for any pain,
Christ hath redeemed thee and Heaven is thy gain.

Devonshire was not keen at any time to produce turncoats in faith or policy, and would boast more gladly of the true sons of the Church who underwent privation and obloquy for their faith and King either in Tudor or Caroline days than of the coward who served under false colours to gain such a prebendal stall at Sarum as Harding attained.

But something of good fortune may have waited on the

steps of both Richard and John Hooker from their ancestral connection with the highest office in the Ever Loyal City, for it was not many a youth who at 18 has received such advantages of patronage and assistance as fell to the share of this precocious lad, who, if the story may be credited, owed no less of his gentle equanimity to his love for his mother than did Jewel, for when the first impressions of spiritual life awoke in his soul in answer to her prayer, he said he "endeavoured to be good as much for hers as for his own sake."

Fortune seems in every way to have favoured Richard's advancement, if we except the unfortunate occasion when as a guest at the Shunamites house he fell into the clutches of his Xantippe. The success of his famous sermon at Paul's Cross must have been considerably diminished by the permanent disablement which its consequences brought about, for gratitude it was that, for most seasonable attentions after his exhausting and stormy journey up to Watling Street, when he was prostrate and purposeless and enervated, instigated his acceptance of the somewhat extravagant suggestion that he (the eminent preacher) should wed the silly and clownish daughter of his too designing hostess. The choice being left to her of the hostelry, none could be more opposite than her own daughter Joan, who brought him neither patrimony nor beauty.

Before many years had passed two of his old pupils, Sandys and Cranmer, paid him a visit at Drayton Beauchamp, a rectory in Buckinghamshire, which he had obtained in 1584, and the next year he was somewhat relieved in his domestic anxieties by being appointed Master of the Temple. Here the obvious discrepancy between his views as a Churchman staunch and thorough, and those of Dr. Traves, an entire Presbyterian, who was withal a man of great ability, created ill-feeling, which Archbishop Whitgift was scarcely able to

dispel. This disagreement led to the writing of the Ecclesiastical Polity—a work which could not be completed in the interruptions of a busy life in the Temple, where various insidious schemes were frustrated by Divine Providence and the care of his old friends. His desire for greater rest was granted in his preferment to Boscombe, near Sarum, and to the prebendary of Netheraven, where he finished four of his eight books of the Ecclesiastical Polity in 1592. The parsonage of Bishopsbourne, in Kent, was doomed to see the completion of his labours, for here he ended his holy and learned life at 46 years of age in 1600.

The dangers of alteration and perversion which his intention, no less than his teaching, suffered at the hands of the Puritans at the death of Archbishop Laud, were ineffectual to rob him of the very strong witness borne by Pope Clement 8th to his learning and worth: "There is no learning," said the Pontiff, "that this man hath not searched into, nothing too hard for his understanding; this man, indeed, deserves the name of an author: his books will get reverence by age, for there are in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire consume all learning. Nor was testimony lacking from Royal lips, James I. speaking of the Polity as the picture of a Divine soul in every page of truth and reason, Charles I. reading the books repeatedly and commending them to his children, Archbishop Usher adding also his unqualified admiration.

The dioceses of Sarum, Wells and Exeter have from time immemorial had a pleasant interchange of learned and godly priests, but never a greater benefit did the Church of Salisbury receive from the old dioceses of Asser than when John Jewel, born in the somewhat sad-looking farm house, pitched on the hills some three or four hundred feet above the sea level, hidden away under the lee from the full force of the wind, called Buden or Bowden, in the pretty village of Berrynarber,—

was consecrated to the See of Osmund. No wide aspect opened before his eyes in those dark, low rooms as he (John), second son of a good old yeoman, John Jewel, and Alice, his wife, looked up from his books, and yet there were not wanting grand cliffs and startling peaks to stimulate ambition, struggling as it did with love in his heart, that tender love which bound him to his mother near indeed, persuading him even to carry her maiden name of Bellamy (bella et amabilis) upon his seal, and influencing his spirit of repartee with the gentle sharpness which enabled him to get the better of his neighbour and adversary Harding, when he said to Jewel: "As I cannot well take a hair from your lying beard, so I wish that I could pluck malice from your blasphemous heart." For which the Bishop calmly returned :—

"Good Christian reader, I have set before thee certain principal flowers of Mr. Harding's modest speech. Taste no more than may well like thee and judge thereof as thou shalt see cause."

At Merton College, under the care of Parkhurst, his natural abilities soon shewed themselves, and his quickness at detecting barbarisms as he and his tutor collated the versions of the Bible by Tindal and Coverdale, elicited from the future Bishop of Norwich the prophetic words: Surely Paul's Cross will one day ring of thee. Within less than 30 years these were accomplished on that memorable Palm Sunday, March 30th, in 1560, when, taking for his text I. Cor. XI. 25. he challenged the truth and authority of the Pope and the Italian Church. This challenge was accepted by many champions of the Roman Church, amongst whom Dr. Cole, the Dean of St. Paul's, who had been deprived by Elizabeth, was the most accomplished in abuse, his rival in the same cause of vituperation and blasphemy against Jewel being the before-mentioned Harding. The result of this controversy was of lasting interest to the Church of England, as Jewel at once

produced his Apology for the English Church, which appeared in Latin in 1560, and was soon translated into Greek, German, Italian, French, Spanish and Dutch.

It was instantly followed by his no less pungent and telling defence of the Apology. It was enjoined by the Queen that a copy of this Apology should be placed within the reach of all by being provided in every parish church, chained, like other volumes of religious teaching, for daily use and reference by the parishioners.

This remarkable work—one of the principal bulwarks of the Church of England in her resistance to the attacks of Roman proselytism—seems to have been the great effort and the crowning glory of his laborious but methodical life. During his episcopacy his habits of practical business and domestic arrangement were never permitted to interfere with the discharge of his highest spiritual duties and the indefatigable discharge of his public ministrations, his last journey indeed being undertaken at a time when he was utterly unfit for such exertion. Thus it was that, persisting in his engagement to preach at Lacock, he fell ill, and, being forced to take to his bed, made his will, disposing of his property to his brother John and to his servants and the scholars and poor of Salisbury. No juster estimate can be formed of his system or purpose in controversy than is given in the declaration which he made shortly before his death, and, as the testimony of a prelate who died in the service of His Church, it deserves ungrudging quotation:

It was my prayers always unto Almighty God, since I had any understanding, that I might honour his name with the sacrifice of my flesh and confirm His truth with the oblation of this my body unto death in defence thereof, which, seeing he hath not granted me in this, yet I somewhat rejoice and solace myself that it is worn away and exhausted in the labours of my holy calling. I have contended in my writings

not to detract from the credit of my adversary, nor to patronize any error (to my knowledge) nor to gain the vain applause of the world, but, according to my poor abilities, to do my best service to God and His Church. I beseech Almighty God of his infinite mercy to convert or confound the ringleader of all rebellions, discords and schisms, the Bishop of Rome: I beseech him also long to preserve the Queen's Majesty; to direct and protect her Council; to maintain and increase godly pastors; and to grant this Church unity and godly peace.

Jewel died at Monkton Farley in his 50th year, 1571, and was buried in the centre of the choir of Salisbury Cathedral. It becometh best a Bishop to die preaching in the pulpit, was his reply to a friend who would have dissuaded him from straining himself by riding and preaching in his then weakly condition. But preach he did, his last text being: Walk in the Spirit. His expulsion from the University and from the kingdom served but to heighten his fame and deepen his learning: circumstances of apparent hardship threw him into the company of Peter Martyr and Bucer, and absence from England widened his views of literature and his knowledge of languages no less than of men. Christendom might have been considerably poorer had not the President and College bragged of their wisdom in ejecting John Jewel for his well known Protestant proclivities—richly as they merited the rather heavy joke of Archdeacon Wright, that though they had kept their Church treasure and ornaments entire, they had lost one far more precious than any of them, while his facile pen could as readily pen a congratulatory address to Queen Mary on her accession as he could administer a slap to Pope Pius 4th for his Bull of Excommunication and Deprivation of her Protestant sister, Queen Elizabeth, in 1570.

If Devon owes much to her divines, Exeter is no less under a great obligation to her historian and first Chamberlain

Hooker, uncle of the author of the Apology, who, if first in chronological order, having been born 30 years before his nephew, is undoubtedly only entitled to the second place in the roll of her writers. Yet he stands first and foremost as the only citizen of that singularly rich period who made full use of the documentary treasures in the custody of the Council, and exercised a scrupulous and honest attention to the exact preservation of the different jurisdictions within the city by his own personal study and inexhaustible application. Grievances he had, and, in his own opinion, the older he grew and the more he worked the less was his reward.

His antecedents were undoubtedly entitled to respect and calculated to advance him in his professional career, he being the eldest surviving son of the Mayor of Exeter and the pupil of Dr. Moreman. His Oxford training gave him breadth of view, and his sojourn in Germany and France (even if he actually took no degree at home or abroad) enlarged his experience of men and manners so that after his marriage to a lady of good birth in Exeter his election as first Chamberlain of the City in 1515 was not subject for surprise.

Something of a star-gazer after the fashion of those times (if we may judge anything from the pre-eminence he assigns in a catalogue of his own works to a discourse of the Comet or Blazing Star, suggested by the sight of the Comet Pagonia which appeared in November and December, 1577), he was capable of more reliable and enduring work in his continuation of Hollinshed's Chronicles up to 1586, while the manuscripts he left in the hands of the Corporation of the City of Exeter bear strong testimony to his unsparing self-dedication to the invaluable monuments in his keeping and a keen perception of their immediate value.

His Synopsis Chronographical, or historical record of the province of Devon, though never printed, is a characteristic proof of his wide study and faculty for collecting materials,

and, with his other works in the field of antiquarian research, gained for him honourable mention from no less an authority than Godwin, who plainly acknowledges his obligation in his discourse "On the Bishops of Exeter" as taken for the most part verbatim out of Master John Hooker's Catalogue, Camden also and Mr. Richard Carew in his survey of Cornwall confessing his worth.

Neither the vexations of his office nor the harsh treatment he met with at the hands of his enemies in the Council and City prevented his attaining a good old age, for he lived to the age of 80, and up to the last year of his life engaged in his *magnum opus* on his native county.

To illustrate the subjects to which he devoted his attention, such as the actual bounds of the City of Exeter, the fee of S. Sidwell and the history of these jurisdictions, he employed Hogenbergius to engrave a map of Exeter in 1587 and also to embellish other of his MSS. by paintings, gorgeous in colour and heraldic device.

According to his own account, he found Mr. Hart, the Town Clerk, a most ready assistant in all his endeavours for the Commonwealth, as he terms the City of Exeter, nothing escaping his diligent care from arranging the records, providing powder and shot, to planting trees in the streets and even providing "stocks and stoles fitt and meete for the launderesses."

Ireland then claimed his energies and "sondrye books and pamphelits on the Common-welthe," and it was with some relief he bethought him of the common proverb:

> Be the day never so longe
> At lengeth it ringeth to eveninge songe,

inasmuch as his sight was dim, his hearing thick, his speech imperfect, and his memory feeble.

Before the whole world he would protest and witness how very small his profits had been, how slender the recompense to

one of his calling and qualities but of one matter in his "great one booke or lyeger;" he was lastly most careful, for in his own words: "The last most troublesome commotion A.D. 1549, wherein it (Treaty of Exon) dyd abyde the extremyte of famyne within and the force and vyolence of the enemy without who allwayes sought and was reddy to devoure and swallow up the same if he coulde. Whereof then I was an eyewitness and can testifye it to be trewe. In which extremitie God the comfort of his afflicted people keepinge us all in love unitie and patience did give us his strengthe and in due tyme dyd help and succour us and graunted us a joyful deliveraunce." Nor did he fail to give full honour to the brave men of his county, who, like Sir Richard and Sir John Hawkins, Sir Richard Grenville spared nor health, wealth, nor their life's blood in fighting for their Queen and country—men whose merits are none the less recognised as the deliverers of the Church of England, because there is neither time nor space to here particularly relate their deeds of prowess.

But while there is much cause for thankfulness to God the Holy Ghost for the great and wise men who wrote and wrestled for the heritage of England in her Church, while we are proud with reason of national victories by land and sea and rejoice in so remarkable a climax of commercial prosperity, it is impossible to ignore the utter disrespect for ecclesiastical discipline and the lax code of moral law which characterised the end of this century.

On the other hand anyone with a superficial knowledge of the Poor Law orders, a slight acquaintance with the history of the Book of Common Prayer and a fair experience of the ways and weaknesses of the every day world will readily confess that, after making allowance for the increase of population since those days, there was no system of moral or social economy and correction more suitable for the promotion of good manners in the broadest sense of the term or of

religious life than the canonical discipline of the Church of England. The officers who endeavoured, under the fear of heavy pecuniary mulct or severe and authoritative displeasure to carry out the strict letter of their instructions, enjoyed no sinecure and incurred the hatred and scorn of their neighbours in the execution of their duties

Was the Vicar careless as to his sermons as at Topsham ?—a then stirring and well-known river port. His name was entered in the book of "Comperta" for reference to the Bishop. At Ide the fault was in the parents, for the Vicar was willing to catechise them, but they were not sent. In one respect, however, the clergy appear to have been very easy-going or the clerks of the parishes very presuming, for in the same village, as indeed in many others, in the absence of the Vicar, the Clerk read the prayers. At Clyst Honiton, a village on the London road, the great fault seemed to be the opening of public places of refreshment or rest to travellers or the riff-raff of the Cathedral City, who, in all probability, walked out there for a game of bowls. Littleham, an aggressive suburb of the popular seaside resort of Exmouth at the present day, at that time (A.D. 1599) could boast of an orderly and Church-attending community, the only things amiss being some small defect in the chapel, and the Register Book of Births, &c., being in paper and not in parchment as ordered by the Canon. Another seaside resort of great beauty, and even then thickly inhabited, in which all things were not in accordance with law, religion or decency, was Dawlish. Not only was the roof of the parish church out of order, but the walls were tumbling down. John Taplye was in the habit of using "unreverent woordes in the church, and this he dyd speciallie on the Soundaye before White Soundaye or there aboute betwine Divine service in the forenoone," by which remark we indirectly gather that in all likelihood there was a pause made between the different offices. To this

unseemly conduct worse charges might be added in painful profusion, and by one instance, at least, we learn how strict the old law was as to settlement, and also how jealously any irregularity in the domestic life of the people was prohibited and regarded. Edward Sewarde was not only living in Dawlish, "havynge all the while a wife abyding in Credyton," but John Underhay had brought into the parish a certain Joanne Lynscott from Kenton, and "farthermore one Nicholas Gortlett, servinge in Dawlish, hath a wife, but where she remaineth we know not." Going further along the coast to another highly-favoured village, we see the Vicar presented for teaching his school in the church (presumably the day school) and for not catechising the children for a year and a half, "neither in ye church nor in noe place else." But the desecration of the Lord's Day was the most heinous offence in the neighbouring parish of Karswill Regis, where the churchwardens, without fear or favour, did presente that "one Thomas Bickford minor did sheare certaine lambes one St. Peter's Day last past, being hired thereunto by one Wilmota Barter, and that the same day one John Wills Hellyar or his servauntes did labour at haymaking and so did one John Ferris servaunte unto Richard Codner, and that Margaret, the wife of Peter Ball, did attend and dry certaine woll upon the hedges as well at service time as at others." The small market, also, which had been held "on Sabboth daies tyme out of mynde" was carried on still.

The average number of persons who rendered themselves liable to fines and eventual excommunication for not attending their own parish church and absenting themselves from the Holy Communion varied from seven to two, but a spirit of indifference to ecclesiastical penalties and censure was abroad throughout the country folk, and while at Culmestock William Nethercot and Margaret Touse came yet to church though they stood excommunicate, another couple at Salcombe Regis had

brought themselves under the cognizance of the Court "for that the bannes of matrimony betwine her and one Thomas Kelwaye alias Kennicke of Litleham had bine thrise lawfully published in our church and afterwards they have separated themselves and the said Thomas is marryed to another woman." The next entry, enclosed in the same bracket for presentation runs briefly but expressively thus :—

"The want a Byble."

It may here be said that at this period the books of the parish churches appear to have been in tolerable condition, the greatest deficiency being in the books of Common Prayer, which were frequently in decay owing undoubtedly to the wretched state of the roofs of many of the churches, and the fact that the windows in the chancels were as often as not out or insufficiently walled up as at Monkton. This defect however was perhaps of trifling consequence compared with the innocent complaint of the wardens in 1606, when they confessed 'Mr. Thomas Sampson is curate here and it is not known whether he be a minister.'

The matter of the habits of the clergy was also one which not only exercised the conscience of some of the most eminent of the foreign reformers but of the English Bishops, and in one respect only at Exmouth did the vicar, Mr. Symon Peake, offend :

"He doth not weare a hoode at tyme appointod."

This was a breach of Canon 58, the penalty of its infraction being suspension. Peake, aforesaid, was clearly a graduate, while another delinquent was one Mr. Gunstone, who at Kingskerswell exhibited a sad contempt, not merely for Canon 58 but for Article 35 also, "inasmuch as he weareth not a tippett at the time of devine prayers, neither doth read the homelies nor catechise of the youth, and he did also admitte to the Communion one Christopher Sampson of Torbrian." At the fine church of Aishperton (modernè Ashburton) a still more

irregular minister defied the orders of the church, though in some respects it is much to be feared that in his sins of omission he might find in his company not a few of the clergy of the 19th century. "Mr. Richard Parson, curate of Aishperton, is presented for that he doth not everie Sondaie *in the presence of the wardens* sett down the names in the Registre booke of such as are wedded, christnd, and purified: also he doth not catechise the children, and he did putt back one Gabriel Harris of the same parish proferring himselfe to receave the Communion since Easter laste, and he weareth not his apparrell as is required in the Constitutions."

To Staverton is not more than an easy walk, and there the officers of the Bishop had the misfortune to discover that Phillip Fursdon and Anne his supposed wife were obstinate Recusants and that 'she had byn delivered of two children, but where, when, and by whom they were christned they know not neither can they learne'

Where widespread disaffection existed with the administration of law in matters social, no less than religious, it was but natural that the officers of the Established Church who were in any way dependent on the tender mercies of their fellow parishioners should suffer. In numerous instances the clerk could not get his pay, and unless prompt measures were taken for its recovery the money might, and often did, disappear in a mysterious way from the possession of responsible persons. Thus at Shute—the ancient seat of the De la Pole family—the Bishop gave special permission to Mr. Ralph Travis, the Vicar, to prosecute Daniel Marten, Henrie Hewett, James Pearse, John Stocker, John Banks, Richard Newberrie, Richard Seller, John Bagge, John Lee and Ezekiel White, who had collectively conspired to rob the clerk of his wages.

One case comes before us at Sidbury which is no doubt merely typical of many which escaped the notice of the Diocesan, for "Roberte Waller, gent., did not receive the communion at

Easter laste by reason of some controversy betwixte Mr. Vicar and him." Upon this we are told that the order was given for him to receive it at the next opportunity and certify to the Court by Michaelmas. At the same time John Vawterd of Sidford stood excommunicate for not communicating, *because he standeth excommunicate*, but a commission issued to Mr. Knotte, Vicar of Sidbury, for his absolution on condition of his receiving also at the first occasion. Obviously peace was not the prevailing virtue at Sidbury at this critical period, for Johane Salisburie was also in disgrace for the same cause, her plea being that "she was out of charitie." *Ideo dominus injunxit eam ad recipiendam Eucharistiam ante festum S. Michaelis.*

When we learn that at this time Richard Haydon kept a tippling house in the vicarage of Topsham, of which he had taken a lease, we realize without difficulty, after the lamentable discoveries which we have here made, how much the nation had undergone by the subversion of the religious feelings and nobler sympathies they had enjoyed in the brighter days of the 14th century.

A glimpse of life in Cornwall at this very hazardous juncture, in the formation of national religious character, will not be unjustifiable in this place.

Of all ubiquitous and evidently practicable men, Mr. Helyar, afterward Archdeacon of Barum, was the most effective. It mattered little to him whether he were sent to London on affairs of sovereign solemnity or of trivial value. To buy lead, to arrange the mortgage of a lease, to borrow £3,000 for King Charles I., or to personally superintend the re-building of a linhay at the Capitular Manor of Staverton—all these and many other and more delicate and difficult businesses came alike to him. Thence he was sent to St. Winnowe on July 17th, 1607, to look after the "fermor or lessee of the glebe (that is the rectorial tithes of the parish), by

which covenant Mr. Roberte Pringe, gent., was bound to repair the chancel windows and floors." Here, also, as there was a great dearth of clergy, the parish clerk read the prayers "when our Vicar is at Nighton's," and it is added significantly "seldom at other times" But the condition of things inside the sacred building was no wit better.

They have no chest with three locks: "they want a pewter pott, they want a register booke in parchmente."

And here occurs an instance of the terribly flagrant evasion of the marriage law which was so painfully prevalent.

John Johns and Honor Edwards were married at Lostwithiel "withoute bands." Nor was this a singular instance.

Boconnock was, however, unfortunate in its parson for a reason that was only too common in the Pytchley and Quorn country as in Yorkshire within the last 50 years.

"Mr. Roberte Hardinge doth sometimes go a hunting and hawkinge with Sir Reynolds Ulohan and other gentlemen," but adds the hesitating complainant, as if his heart went with the sportsman, by way of excuse, "to bear them company!"

That the Commandments should be placed in the north rather than in the east would seem but a matter of small importance, but at Braddock, where this happened, through some oversight of the wardens who may have lost their compass, the more serious breach of order was that they had no sentences of scripture, and "the xiid for absence from church they never take any."

At Pieran in Zabulo the moral condition of all classes was deplorable, but to those who confessed and did penance either by payment of money fines or public acknowledgment before the congregation, Mr. Christopher Colmer, of St. Allun, had order to administer the consolation of absolution, while one Olyver Skewes seems to have incurred the opprobrium of taking in to his house all persons of indifferent antecedents,

and, when a favourable chance occurred, helping them to escape without fine, fee or flogging.

At St. Agnes the churchyard seems to have been the debating ground or Mars Hill of the whole parish, no less than ten of the inhabitants, including Peter Beacham, gent., being summoned for brawling and scolding therein. Indeed, "rayleing and unseemlie speaches" seem to have been the favourite employment of a great number of the inhabitants of that busy village. But perhaps the last entry in this sad catalogue is significant enough of the poverty stricken position of the inferior clergy all over England in those perilous days of change.

The last name on the list of excommunicates is that of the Vicar's wife, Margaret Plemyn, alias Chinoweth, who is presented as answerable for dilapidations, "the vicarage house beeing lefte by him much decaied."

Less compromising, but undoubtedly far from reverent or conducive to order and decency, were the escapades of such patriotic volunteers as Blackmore and Robert Thomson in 1583, who fetched certain chambers or pieces from Seaton and took them on to the roof of Colyton Church. They also indulged in some pyrotechnic displays in the cemetery of the same church, and went so far as to ask the alms of the assembled folk towards the charges of powder. No damage was fortunately done but to a tree, but the scandal was notorious and great, for it took place on the High Feast of the Ascension when these "unseemly doers thereof" should have been at Divine service. The sin of sacrilege was condonable after a confession had been read *coram populo* in church, but the assertion that Blackmore had been employed about the Queen's Majesty's Artillery, which excuse he afterwards withdrew, did not avail him much.

The abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts became too intolerable for a people then throwing off the yoke of a

foreign and altogether insufferable tyranny, and, as we read the original records of these official proceedings, many of which have lain in dust and cobwebs since the day they were penned, we can scarcely wonder that within 50 years the ruder elements of society had risen in one great upheaval of indignation and repudiated the obligations with the privileges and restraints of the Church.

The clergy, however, from the early years of Queen Elizabeth had been guided by no uncertain code as to their official obligations, acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy and agreement with the reformed faith, without which they could not hold a benefice or even be admitted to Holy Orders. In 1562 the Act was passed by which all the clergy were called upon to subscribe the Articles "published in the Synod of London," and they did so in the Diocese of Exeter, as we may believe, without much hesitation. The immense imperial folio volume in which they signed their names is still in existence and has served for this purpose from 1562 to the Restoration, the last name being that of a schoolmaster, one John Jane of Plymouth, bearing date August 5th, 1662, persons of that profession being compelled to prove rather their allegiance to the Establishment in Church and State than their proficiency in *arte linguam Anglicam docendi et scribendi*. The interest of this remarkable volume lies in the fact that it contains the very autograph signatures and personal expressions of the clergy of Devon and Cornwall for nearly 100 years, and if the study of handwriting be in any degree capable of throwing light on individual character, the variety of expression and emphasis shewn in the pages of this book would lead us to suppose that the process was conducted (whether it were *infra Palatium Episcopi apud Exon or in Civitate Westmonasterii*), with very mixed feelings and under rather perplexing circumstances by men of every class, type and temper.

The first few pages are much defaced with damp and dirt.

To give two instances:

Ante acceptacionem Rectorie de Downe St. Mary.

Ego Jacobus Densham omnibus articulis in Synodo Londini publicatis Anno dni 1562 doctrinæ vere religionis conservantibus subscribo Jacobus Densham.

Ego Robertus Grene omnibus Articulis in synodo Londinensi publicatis Anno dni 1563 doctrinam vere religionis concernentibus subscribo per me Robertu Grene.

But in the next subscriptions, apparently of the same date, we find a gratuitous or rather effusive declaration that the articles had been signed or subscribed "sponte et voluntarie," or, as others less grammatically said on future occasions in this volume, "et voluntate." This was the expression of Roger Santley, amongst others.

On some pages we see the most minute and exquisite writing in juxtaposition with the most scrawly and scribbly attempt at cyphering. Thus when Thomas Barrett, clericus, is going to be instituted to the prebend of Carswell he takes a grand quill in hand, and, with the majestic firmness of de Grandisson, subscribes, indulging at a later date in even a mightier uncial when he could sign himself as *Regie majestatis Capellanus domesticus.*

John Hardinge indulges in a less emphatic attestation. Timothy Fisher, before he accepts the vicarage of Tavistock, most carelessly scribbles his assent, and it looks very much as if William Tooker had fulfilled the duties of the title with which he only describes himself (Clerk), and written out the forms for many of the clergy on this occasion. A little later one William Parker, Master of Arts, substitutes *Christiane* for *vere* and the word *sacramentorum* is introduced. For clergy who knew how to write we might well have to go to Mr. Edward Procter, Vicar of Berry Pomeroy, who compressed all his statutable declaration into a very small space in the most concise and elegant hand. The number of clergy who signed

the Articles must for this diocese have been very large, but when Francis Godwin first took the oath to the Articles his autograph was of the simplest and most humble sort. At a later period, when he has a grand opportunity of advancement, his signature assumes a most dignified and majestic proportion, more suited to one who was collated to the then lucrative and honourable office of Sub-Dean in the Cathedral Church.

One of the peculiarities of the period was the pedantic penchant for adopting a Latin name or termination, Rodolph Nicholson, for example, who was about to be instituted to Witheridge in April, 1587, signing himself as Nicholsonus and William Lilly in the same year on his admission to Holy Orders, though no Graduate, glorying in the ridiculous Lillius. Thus Francis Middleton, on his institution to Kilkhampton, becomes Franciscus Middletonus, the only names which defied the terminal ornamentation being such as Maynwaring (to Rewe Rectory 1591), Penhallurick (to St. Endellions 1591), John Drake not escaping conversion to Johannes Dracus (alumnus Oxon) on his admission to both Deacon's and Priest's Orders on March 20th, 1591, and Walter Sweeper, resting content with nothing less splendid than "Gualterus Sweeperus !"

Other clergy of larger eloquence or scholarship took pleasure in varying the somewhat monotonous repetition of the *annus domini* and delighted to air their Latinity in the pleonastic declaration of Jo: Dyor, who subscribed thus:

Ego J. D. omnibus articulis in synodo londinensi constitutis anno 1562 a partu virgineo solidam et sinceram doctrinam religionis esse fateor et profiteor et in hujus rei testimonium nomen meum ex animo subscribo.

In this respect he probably did no more than adopt the phraseology of his predecessor in the act of subscription, namely, Matthew Sutcliffe, on his appointment to a canonry and prebend in the Cathedral Church, who thought proper to express his agreement by adding "assentior et veros credo."

Another form of assent was given by the words: libenter et ex animo.

Nor was it sufficient to subscribe but once, on taking orders or on acceptance of a benefice, as may be seen in the case of William Parker, who on April 1st, 1588, before his acceptance of the Rectory of Uny, near Redruth, signed the usual formula (with this exception, however, from the commonly used date that he gives the year of publication of the articles as 1563 instead of 1562), and, on his acceptance of the Rectory of Boconnoc in less than three weeks, subscribes yet again in the same words, and three years afterwards, on his second acceptance of the Rectory of Ewny, near Redruth, signs yet once more.

One instance occurs of a subscription which had no effect to procure the installation of the nominee, if we may believe or thus interpret the marginal note to the entry bearing the name of Christofer Comer, or Colmer. In the Palace at Exeter, before the Lord Bishop, 1585, on July 1st, previous to his acceptance of the Rectory of Eggesford, he made the usual subscription, but the comment in the margin is: "non traxit effectum."

Under date 1584 we find that at Westminster, at the time of the Parliament of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, Robert Lawe, clerk, Master of Arts, not only subscribed the Articles as all the other clergy of the diocese, but, before his acceptance of the treasurership of the Cathedral Church, also subscribed to those three Articles which had been proposed by the most Reverend Father in Christ the Lord John by Divine permission Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, to all the clergy throughout the whole of his province, and also at the same time "*juravit contra papam et omnes potestates foraneas secundum statutum in hac parte editum.*" These subscriptions, with a few others, were clearly

written in London and forwarded for insertion in the volume here described.

At this period a larger number of the clergy were Graduates of Oxford, but their idea of the word "Bachelor" of Arts is extremely varied as regards the spelling: Nicholas Forward, on his acceptance of Ottery of the Blessed Mary, describes himself as in artibus "Baccelarius": Richard Harvy, when admitted to the priesthood on March 26th, 1590, styles himself "baccalarius"; on the last day of the same month and year, "baccalaureus"; while other subscribers are content to record their degree as that of "baucelerius" or even "bacchilarius." Each successive piece of preferment seemed to the more eloquent or effusive of the clergy the opportunity for an additional asseveration of assent, Sub-Dean Sutcliffe, on his acceptance of the Vicarage of Alvington, concluding with "easque approbo."

Thomas Robinson, on the 17th September, before his admission to the Rectory of Huntshawe, went even further than this, gratifying the authorities, no doubt, by his emphatic declaration that he had actually subscribed with his own hand, or (in his own words) "propria manu subscripsi quoniam scio illos cum sacrosancto dei verbo convenire."

James Spicer was one of the clerks who *per saltum* found his way into a stall in the Cathedral Church.

A Brazenose man (nothing is said as to any degree), he was made Deacon, Priest and Canon on one and the same day—the 2nd of March, 1590, and on the 21st of the same month received institution to the Vicarage of St. Goran, in Cornwall.

The fertility of another Thomas Robinson in expression cost him a lengthy but enforced correction. Before his admission to Holy Orders on April 30th, 1591, he took upon himself the somewhat singular title of "titulo baccalauri notus," and added that he was "seleberrime Ooxoniensis

Academiæ alumnus ": this flowery title was vigorously crossed through and the essential subscription written below.

In 1591 another form of assent occurs, not a few of the clergy stating " consensum praebeo et consentio."

That in such a large number of subscriptions and at such a critical period there should be no slip between the oath of assent and the entering on the benefice would be very improbable. Thus we find that when John Bradford had actually subscribed, before accepting the Rectory of Ringes Ash on January 14th, 1591, the Bishop hesitated as to his issuing a mandate to the Archdeacon for his induction, and considered it best that they should first deliberate on the matter. This note of delay is vigorously made by William Germyn, the Episcopal Registrar.

In a few cases such explanatory notes as the following are given: on March 22nd, 1591, Thomas Lodington subscribed before his second acceptance of the Rectory of Iddesleigh, on the presentation of Anthony Copleston, Esq., and before his admission to the priesthood.

On the 18th August, 1592, at Exeter, William Huish, M.A., was admitted ad et in sacros ordines *generales*, and four days afterwards to the Rectory of Kilkehampton.

On the 23rd September John Edgcombe was also admitted to Holy Orders " in general," but is himself termed " literatus," a description seldom found in this book.

The name of Hooker occurs twice at this period: Zachary Hooker, subscribing on October 28th, 1592, on his collation to the Rectory of Charihaies alias Charichaies Stephens et Denys, and Peter Hooker being admitted to both deacon's and priest's orders on April 18th, 1597.

John Johnes, Master of Arts and Fellow of Exeter College, was one of the very few men who, if we can believe this book, found their way back to the Church or Diocese of their Patron

and founder. He was ordained to the Rectory of Bekington Lopez (?) on February 12th, 1592.

In 1593 it would appear that some doubts had arisen as to the genuine meaning of these subscriptions, and on June 5th a candidate for orders who could not satisfy his examiners as to his knowledge of Latin by anything less than the conversion of his own simple names into Robertus Kenteus, declared that he subscribed the aforesaid articles "candide, bona fide, et ex animo." These specially devout terms were not, however, popular and were disused after a few weeks.

Then the monotony of varied subscription is broken by the solemn registration of the death of Bishop Woolton.

On the 13th day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord 1593, the aforesaid Reverend Father, John Woolton, Bishop of Exeter, in his Palace at Exeter, in the 15th year of his Consecration, departed out of this light in the Lord.

During the Episcopate of Gervase Babyngton subscriptions were, as was recently stated, required of schoolmasters as well as of clergy.

The position and responsibilities of this office are immediately recognized by the words in which the preamble to these entries is worded. The first village in which a teacher was found anxious to testify his assent was Halberton, and these were the conditions on which he received the leave of his Diocesan, so closely were the spiritual and political elements of national life at this time connected.

This is the admission of Arthur Hill, before the Reverend Father, on the 17th of May, 1595, before his admission to the office or duty of teaching Grammar at Halberton, on which day the aforesaid Hill took the oath as to refuting (or repudiating) every foreign power and of acknowledging the Queen's Supreme Power in accordance with the form of the Statute, &c. Shortly afterwards William Cotton wished to be allowed to

teach the art "tabellionandi sive scribendi" at Totnes, and must necessarily also take the same oath.

There are certain names which strike even the casual reader of this vivid and varied record. Such are the names of Rudyerd, Playfere, Rector of S. Ruan Lanyhorne, Elias Newcomen Rector of Dewlowe, Leonard Hutton, James Heygate, Vicar of Fremington, John Lynnyngtton, Robert Bowring (November 23rd, 1596) to Rackenford, William Lowther, Vicar of Ilsington, Paul Godwyn June 22nd, 1597), William Randall, Rector of Bradstone (August 6th, 1597), Robert Gibbs, Rector of S. Pancras.

The first sign of independent assertions of opinion occur in 1603, when a very great number of clergy, schoolmasters and others under submission to authority, either wholly or in part, subscribed to the three articles which declared the Supremacy of the Sovereign in her dominions (as cannot be too often declared) with the proviso "under God," the Scriptural character and authority of the Book of Common Prayer, and that the Articles of 1562 are agreeable to the word of God.

The Articles are thus here engrossed: —

THREE ARTICLES agreed upon in the Synode begonne at London in the year of our Lord God, 1603, whereunto everie parson before he be receyved into the ministerie, admitted into anie ecclesiasticall Living, suffered to preache or catechize or reade anie Lecture, or Licensed to teache Schole, must first subscribe.

1.—That the kinges matie under God is the onelie supreame governour of this realme and of all other his highness dominions and countries as well in all spirituall or ecclesiasticall thinges or causes as temporall, and that no forreyne prince, person, prelate, state or potentate hathe or ought to have aine jurisdiction, power, superioritie, preheminence or anctoritie ecclesiasticall or spirituall within his maties sayde realmes, dominions and countries.

2.—That the Booke of Common Prayer and of ordering of Bishopps, Priests and Deacons contayneth in it nothing contrary to the worde of God and that it may lawfully be used, and that he himselfe will use the forme in the said booke prescribed in publique prayer and administration of the Sacraments and none other.

3 —That he alloweth the booke of articles of religion agreed upon by the Archbishopps and Bishopps of both provinces and the whole clergye in the Convocation holden at Londen in the yeere of our Lorde God one thousand five hundred sixtie and two, and that he acknowledgeth all and every the articles therein contayned being in nomber nyne and thirtie besides the ratification to be agreeable to the worde of God.

The first name written after these three articles is that of Peter Duncan, Rector of Kenne, October 3rd, 1604.

So long as the necessary subscription was obtained, it apparently mattered little in what idiosyncrasy or peculiarity of idiom any applicant for a licence indulged. Abraham Smyth declares that he has "*this instant*" read the Articles. John Worth fixes the place of his proposed labours by forming an inelegant adjective, and describes himself as "Nunc Brodeclistiensis." George Wilton wishes to be known as "Moderator Schole Creditonensis." Philip Shapcott rejoices in a wider sphere, and has leave to teach wherever there is no resident schoolmaster and Moysis Chaplayne, when he would be licensed to teach at Fen Ottery, dignifies that pretty but scattered and humble hamlet with the alternative titles *oppidum sive villam.*

At this period (1604-1607) a great number of applicants appear anxious to be admitted *ad munus concionandi:* such are Ambrose Bone, of Okehampton, clerk; David Blamey, this time *ad officium concionatoris;* Leonard Dorchester, *ad predicandum verbum.*

Curates, a scarce commodity even in those days of pluralism,

aimed no higher than the privilege of being admitted *ad officium curatoris*, or *ad deserviendum cure*, as Guiellmus Dansonus on December 14th, 1609; and John Goran, of Southmolton, on May 27th, 1629. If the genus parish clerk had generally throughout the West of England attained to no better scholarship than he of St. Paul's Church in Exeter, some allowance must be made for the ideas of the age.

I, John Lylle, to the first and third Atickelles and to the first and second clauses of the secon Artikoll agreevyd on in the Synod held att London in the year 1603 and to all thinges theare in conteined Doe willenly consent and subscribe.—John Lylle.

One Simon Stephens presents the single instance of a Recusant in the matter of payment (not of faith). Licence he had none, because, as the plain marginal note says: *ex eo quod recusavit solvere feoda*. No reason, however, is given why Walter Wilshman failed to get his licence to the curacy of Townstall after subscription, the sole comment marginal being: *non emanavit*. In 1610, Thomas Nott and Richard, his son, would appear to have found Northmolton a favourable place to practise "*Ars Chirurgica*," for both desired the episcopal licence; but the next similar application does not appear till 1631, when Matthew Barrett, without stating his degree or abode, obtained permission alike. The solitary instance of a Graduate being at one and the same time licensed to serve a cure, and also *ad predicandum* is that of David Mole, who was at Brent in 1633, while John Bishop, B.A., curate of North Tawton, is almost the only case of a license being granted to preach *per totam diocesim Exon*. Amongst the last of the schoolmasters who desired to teach after subscription was Robert Wise, who, though less wide in his province and department under Church discipline than the aforesaid curate, obtained *licenciam docendi linguam Anglicanam et artem scribendi* not only in Newton Abbot but at Teigngrace, Kingskerswell,

Abbotskerswell, Kingsteignton, Brodehempston and East Ogwell, on 25th July, 1662.

At seaport towns there is a foreign ring about the names of would-be schoolmasters and curates, Christopher Jelinger being licensed to the cure of Stonehouse, and Sigismundus Hartangus to teach at Dartmouth, in 1636. On September 19th, 1635, when Jonathan Butler, literate, was appointed to the "free lower school at Tiverton," his application was to be admitted *ad instruendum parvulos*.

Only a few received general licences to teach, as William Prideaux in 1633, at Lamerton *vel alibi*.

But of all the names herein subscribed none are more interesting than those of Blake and Venne, who, at the opposite extremes of the County of Devon, suffered the cruel amenities of persecution at Barum and Otterton for their unswerving allegiance to the Church as by law established, during those unnatural civil wars.

But for conciseness, Nicholas Byrche, who was admitted to the Rectory of Bicton (then spelt Buckton or Bickton—now in the gift of Hon. Mark Rolle), bears the palm. On October 21st, 1604, he writes:—

Claves recepi: sacra tetigi: oravi: campanas pulsavi.

It frequently happened that suspicions arose as to whether the Vicar, on his induction, had really read the Articles before the people or in the church, and also as to whether he had not been guilty of simony. Thus in 1576, the Bishop (Bradbridge) holding his court at Newton Ferrers, Sir Edmund Tyll was under cross-examination on this point and swore "quod publice legebat articulos post admissionem suam ad dictam vicariam de Buckland Monachorum infra tempus limitatum," admitting, however, subsequently that, "as to what tyme was betwene his deconship and prestehode, he was made both at same tyme."

The same doubt arose as to Thomas Peper, Rector of Mevy,

the account of whose "reading in" is so circumstantially given that we may quote it in full.

"On Palme Sondaye laste was foweer yeares there was a ded corps to be buryed at Mevy, and because the greter parte of the parish was not come to the morning prayer, Mr. Peper requysted the parishioners, being in number forty persons, to stay a lytle whyle for the burying, because, sayde he, I am this daye to reade certyn artycles whiche I am bounde to reade by lawe at the time of my Induccion which I mynde God willing nowe to reade and therefore do desyre you to beare wytnesse to the reading thereof. And so ymmedyately the corps standing by in the church porch (which, as one of the witnesses thereunto guessith to be the cause), he went not into the church. Mr. Peper reade a certyn booke very nere the space of an hower. And likewise the same day in the afternoune the said Mr. Peper, when the most part of the parish were come to their evening prayer before the same was begun, he prayed his people to bear wytness with him of the reading of the same which he then and there read in an audyble voyse.

The servys was longer then of custom yt was wont."

The same question arose about a Mr. Bagster (Backster or Baxter), Rector of Probus, who had even taken the trouble to bring his brother all the way, to ride from Cullompton, to likewise bear witness in his case.

Amongst the agricultural labourers, as among even the yeomen and aristocracy, misgivings arose or found expression at every manner of place and in all kinds of ways as to the Mass.

While on a fine summer's day in June, 1554, John Dayman, talking to his mate down by a certain waterside on the Dart, could say without effrontery that 'it was no better to sweare by the grasse than the masse, because,' quoth he, "the masse is maid by man but God made the grasse," others coming from

evensong on their way through Heywood, in the village of Morchard Bishop, fell all of a stubble and some raisons coming out of somebody's pocket. He plucked an apple from a tree and said: Take, eat this in remembrance of me. Their defence before the court was doubtless genuine; they said this merrily: "they be hertily sorry."

But the position of the clergy was far from satisfactory. Dependent on tithes, they dared not combat the heretic or free thinker. Distraught between the suggestions of diplomacy and the convictions or calls of their high responsibilities, the dilemma was terrible.

Whether it were at Megavissey or Teignmouth, at S. Germans or S. Issey, the system of fish tithe was so extremely complicated that a *modus* was most difficult of arrangement. Nor was the Vicar, whose income depended on farm produce, better provided for. If he was so weak as to not insist on his claims of corn, poultry, whitesole, and garden produce, he must go to the Court or starve. The first course meant insult even in the Sanctuary: the alternative, ridicule and insolvency. His position led him to become a party to many of those precocious matrimonial contracts which furnished the Courts then, as now, with amusement, and the proctors with fees.

Their canonical right, nay obligation, to suggest and indite last wills and testaments placed them continually in circumstances of great difficulty as between their duty to the testator, his spiritual interests, and the just claims of his relatives.

In one notorious instance at Dartmouth the curate was compelled to confess that he never regretted anything so much in all his professional life as his interference in the affairs of one Christeyn Savery, out of whose goods and chattels (which by the way had come under suspicious circumstances from Ipswich), he, John Culleyn, provided the "altar front" of the church.

The affectionate intimacy of correspondence which was until this period of contempt fostered by way, rule, and custom of

parochial life and common interest between the people and their church, was most effectually snapped by the wretched position of the men who ministered to them *in Sacris*, but who lived and died amongst them, and as the wills proved in the Episcopal Courts of this period amply testify, bore the very warmest affection for the people committed to their charge, bequeathing to them from oldest to youngest some little proof of their fatherly regard in the shape of a yeo lamb, a brass crock, a case of virginals, a gown, or as to their godchildren, 3s. 4d. in lawful English money.

We must remember also the then flagrant prostitution of patronage, civil as well as ecclesiastical, the low code of social morality, the coarseness and roughness of modes of expression and thought. And we must reflect that the changes in religion left a large number of persons open to the persuasion of every charlatan, impostor and heretic who could gain a hearing. The danger became greatest when men of position and means publicly advocated religious views incompatible with the established religion, for while Cuthbert Mayne was barbarously executed at Launceston in 1577 for upholding a religion which 50 years before had been the national religion, and Mr. Tregian, of Golden Grove, suffered the loss of all for his hospitality to the hunted priest and his possession of sacred ornaments from Italy, county gentlemen like Mr. Antony Dillon openly said and affirmed that Puritans and Precisians in his judgment were the honestest men of all other professions, above Protestants and all others, in the shop of Mr. Web, a bookseller in the Broadgate of Exeter, who more cautiously said that "touching the maintenance of the sects of the Puritans and Precisians they be prejudicial to Her Highness, Kingdom and order," and sought out Mr Dillon, who replied:—"Although I sayd the Puritans and Precisians are the honestest—whatsoever a company of prowde Bishops and Papists say to the contrary—yet I meant not oure Byshoppe."

Nevertheless many men of credit were there, even in the Great Chamber of the Palace in Exeter, on the morning of May 17th, 1582, discussing these treasonable remarks, and amongst them were Mr. Roger Drew of Kenton and Mr. Henry Sotheran, who rebuked Antony "that he should take advisement before he spake and sett a hedge before his lipps." He jauntily replied: "Let alone: I will justifye my words." The court thought otherwise.

The country round about the old market town of Honiton could boast, however, of a pioneer in the way of free speech. One Pynney of Wydworthy was brought before his Diocesan for various ribald remarks made in the neighbourhood. He had said on his own confession: "The prophet Jonas was sent to the Nynyvites and they repented, but he prayed God these newe preachers were not sent of the Devell." But a parishioner of Offwell declared that while the parson was preaching at Widworthy (taking for his text these words out of the prophet Jonas, "And yet XL days before Nynevy shall be destroyed and thus teaching that in so short time or with one warning they repented; but wee, having so many and often warnings and sermons, do not repent) Pynney, sitting in his pew, cried out: Jonas was sent from God, but you are sent from the Devell and therefore we do not repent."

Nor was Pynney less blasphemously plain spoken in the churchyard, for when a question arose as to the settlement of some tithes, on which there had been much dispute, he replied: "I have heard an old storey that where the Devell sytteth in his own consistory lett not a man go to law, for he will be judge of his owne cause."

Men of this stamp were firebrands in their own district Pynney, as an original thinker, gaining the ear of even old county families, for, as he rode alongside John Thomas, the constable, Mr. Purchase and Mistress Bampfeld, on their way between Exeter and Fairmile, he was heard to say: If I had

L£, or if I had my money agayne which I gave for lande, I would not be a loser thereby of XX£. What would ye then do? asked one of the company.

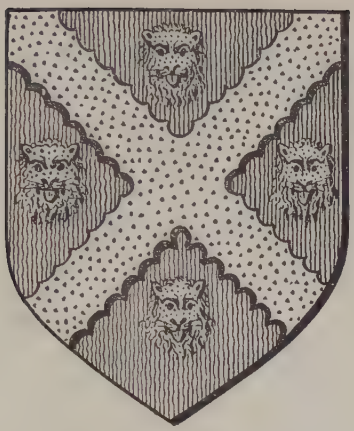
Mary! I would go to the Byshopp and for L£ be made a minister, and within a short space I would get me a benefice and a long goune and walk among the best of them, and go into the pulpytt and sell smoke unto them. Then said Mistress Bampfeld: May you be made a minister that can scarce read English! Then quoth Pynney: For money I will buy althings.

Even Mr. Bampfeld, of Honiton, had himself heard Pynney say: I will go abroade and be a preacher and make sermons, and be called Sir John Smellsmock.

By way, also, of deriding the clergy and their ministrations, he had very blasphemously and discourteously said, with reference to a recent wedding at Farwaye, that the parson had married together a goose and a gander.

The homilies also excited the hostility of the country folk, which they shewed in various forms of ridicule, as when a farmer brought a little child into Dean Prior Church, and, sitting it upon his knee, encouraged it to make faces and grimaces at the minister, insomuch that he did order him to remove "the noisame chylde," for he was reading a "homelye"; and when Thomas Skynner, of Linkinhorne, went to Polperrough, in Cornwall, and as the Bishop's apparitor stood up in a crowd of fishermen, holding a process called a *Quorum nomina* in his hand for the purpose of summoning witnesses in the case of a certain Nicholas Waie, charged with a painfully common offence, Christopher Maunsell, coming up, rebuked Skynner for his "fayned and counterfeyte commission and Courte Keeping," and, on hearing the other process server, had threatened that Waie should pay with one of his fishing boats for his resistance to the writ, exclaimed:

Whye maye I not kepe a Courte of Knaverie.



ARMS OF THE TREASURER OF EXETER CATHEDRAL.

CHAPTER X.

The accession of James I. to the throne marks the commencement of a period fraught with consequences to the Church of England even more serious and far reaching than those of the previous century.

The conditions of spiritual action in the Church were as changed as were those of social life in the people. Freedom of thought, liberty of act, independence of moral restraint all tended to breed hatred of ecclesiastical discipline. Recusants found that no quarter was to be given in the war now to be waged against the treacherous designs of Rome or the fanatical outbursts of Fifth Monarchy cut-throats and Independents. The general effects of the various statutes passed in this reign to insure allegiance to the Church of England are too well known to need description, except where we can shew from local history how such legislation was received, as in the extreme West of England, which, it must be remembered, like Lancashire in the north, never ceased to retain a large contingency of devoted adherents to the old form of religion. The great changes, however, which had

taken place in the conduct of Divine service no less than in the parish churches, by the destruction of ancient hereditary monuments and the mutilation of old familiar objects of attention, if not of real worship, had utterly unsettled the minds of even devout and simple folk, and in many cases driven them far astray to taste the forbidden sweets of a private Mass or a cheerless conventicle. The Millenary Petition was not without its result: the Hampton Court Conference certainly met, and Dr. Reynolds urged the force and fairness of his side of the question with undoubted acumen; but the charge of disloyalty brought against the Nonconformist party by the King—unjustifiable as it certainly then was—exasperated rather than appeased their minds. Such orthodoxy as James I. exhibited elicited from Bishop Bancroft an echo of the popular cry which had been heard some 1,600 years before, though in this case the Bishop of London did ascribe some part of the event to the Unseen Powers. "I protest," said he, "my heart melteth for joy that Almighty God of his singular mercy hath given us such a king as from Christ's time hath not been." But in 1604 not a grievance was removed, and the general dissatisfaction which existed may be well painted in the following incidents of local history.

Ide is a pleasant village near Exeter, but at this time, in the absence of the Vicar, the Clerk said the prayers; and George Kelly, at Clyst Honiton, did harbour vagabonds and maintain play every Sabbath day at his bowling green. At Stoke Canon the parishioners borrowed money of the Church store, and, when asked for it, ridiculed both Church and law. Edward Seward had enmity against his parson at Dawlish, because he had expostulated with him as to his bigamy, his matrimonial engagements being divided between Dawlish and Crediton; but then he did not attend his parish church, and, God saving him, never would. The reason was not far to

seek. In Cornwall the same usage obtained as to the clerk taking the Vicar's place and reading prayers, for when the parson was at "Nightons," *i.e.* the Chapel of S. Nectan, he always did so. Neglect evidently prevailed here also, for there were no registers, no pewter pot for the wine, no chest with three keys, and some eight persons stood excommunicate for divers offences. At Boconnok unluckily the Vicar was the prime mover of heresy or non-attendance, for he doth "sometymes goe a huntinge and hawkinge with Sir Reynolds Ulogan and other gentlemen *to bear them companye.*" Does this, it may be asked, mean that he attended as chaplain to his sporting friends, and, therefore, was reasonably let and hindered? At Piran the Vicar had walled up the chancel windows. The number of absentees from the Holy Communion was lamentably large here, while the Church complained in the person of her officers that evil disposed men produced trouble by persuading women of evil life to depart from the parish "without being churched or punished." St. Agnes parish furnishes an example of a town where disagreement with the Church, the parson and the prayer-book, was not only widespread but blatant and offensive, for no less than three persons called "gent" and many poorer people were presented for scolding and brawling on such matters both in the building and the churchyard. Such was the condition of things at the beginning of the 17th century. Indeed, during the later years of the reign of Elizabeth the Government issued an order to the effect that all Recusants and even husbands and fathers of Recusants should be left out of the Commission of the Peace, and such was the suspicion in high places as to treachery that all the Justices of the Peace were called upon in 1592 to take the oath of Supremacy in open court, saving the Lords of Parliament, and when (as frequently happened) the Bench of County Magistrates sat in the Chapter House of the Cathedral the surroundings must

very effectively have reminded them that loyalty to the Church was as much binding on them as loyalty to the Crown. When, however, regular Petty Sessional Divisions were arranged, as in 1605, and the King, James I., himself took counsel with the judges, a far more strict moral code was enforced, for the proper control of not only rogues and vagabonds belonged to them, but information was specially to be obtained as to all manner of "Recusants as well as Popish Sectaries, murders, felonies and outrages," shewing with what class of offence the judicature viewed all derivations from the established religion. This was in June, and in November the Gunpowder Plot was most happily frustrated.

"Tippling" even in those days was strictly forbidden during sermons or service. But ale houses, which were the "nursery of lawless persons" (like Rogues Harbour Inn on the Lidford Road from Plymouth, where Salvation Yeo slew the Kings of the Gubbings), were only too common all over the Diocese. And not only were the laws strictly aimed at immorality, but they even enforced sanatory principles no less than sumptuary, for by a special order made for ale houses kept in Devon in 1608, keepers of such houses were prohibited from even dressing or uttering any flesh in Lent, and receiving persons suffering from any horrible or infectious disease. The parish constables were two years before appointed spies of the religious views of the freeholders. Even at Easter in the previous year a warrant had been issued to search the houses of Eveleigh and Babington at Ottery St. Mary, upon credible information of "great resort made to them in the night season and other unlawful times, of Recusants, Papists and other persons ill affected to His Majesty: some were Seminaries, Jesuits and Massing Priests, and brought with them Papistical books, vestments and other unlawful reliques." With some of the Babingtons, probably relatives of the family called phonetically Habington in Worcestershire, things might have gone hard, as after repeated demands they

were appointed to confer with Canon Huchenson, a good old scholar and safe advocate of the Reformed Faith, who if called in to see the Misses Fursden for persistent refusal to attend their parish church, was less nobly rewarded than were the constables who got 4d. apiece for every Recusant whom they brought up. Indeed one Mrs. Fleay who harboured a "Romish Seminary" in her house at Lyme Regis, gave the pursuivant who arrested him one hundred angeletts to let him go, but the officer unjustly took both priest and cash. The penalties of *præmunire* were most severely enforced and became the tests of loyalty as well as of religion, amongst those who were compelled to take the oath of allegiance in 1610 being Sir William and Lady Courtenay and Sir Ferdinando Gorges: warrants also were actually issued for Sir William Kirkham, John Gifford of Halsbury and John Coffyn, men of well-known family in the Diocese, "who do not usually attend Church and receive the Sacrament according to His Majesty's laws" Many others were not ashamed to follow their example: amongst them being Lady Kirkham, Mrs. Carew of Haccombe and Mrs. John Cruse of Cruse Morchard, but if Lady Kirkham obstinately refused it is not hard to see why, when we find that her maiden name was Tichborne.

In 1612 still sterner orders were sent down from the Judges, as if the severe lecture given to the Sheriff and Justices in 1609 had had no results, and the old statute of Queen Elizabeth put before them for impartial and instant execution.

The Clerks of Assize and of the Peace were to compare lists of the christian and surnames, and dwelling-places of all those who would not conform and receive the Sacrament, and to confine them within five miles of their houses, the parson, vicar or curate being also brought in to identify the unfortunate non-conformists. The greater dread however was of the mischief caused by emissaries from Rome, and particular inquiry was to be made what Jesuits or Priests do harbour, lurk, or move to and fro in the County, and who receive them.

Amongst many of this description we select one who certainly contrived a marvellous amount of ability and cunning, and setting up for a medico under the very eye of the Bishop, claimed a seat for his wife in the nave of the Mother Church, and undertook to cure of their complaints some of the most eminent men of the City and County.

In 1607 the very curious case of this Italian quack, called "*Bartholomeo Jaquinto*," appears, who surrendered in the Bishop's Court to answer certain charges illustrative of the simplicity of persons even in high places. Bartholomew Jaquinto appears to have got hold of Mr. Holditch, Mayor of Totnes, on the plea of being able to cure his bodily infirmities which were of a complicated nature. Having obtained from him a large sum of money, he prescribed such dangerous remedies that his unfortunate dupe rapidly succumbed. He also found a lodging in the Cathedral Close when he was on his visitation in the neighbourhood of Silverton, and excited the interest of many simple folk by his enchantments and medical receipts, but amongst the witnesses was one William Owleborowe who was 27 years old, and had lived all his life and been educated, at Exeter. He had been told by Mr. Fountain, preacher of the Word of God in the Gallican Church in the City of London, in the presence of Doctor Goslinge and Mr. Thomas Edwards, that Bartholomew Jaquinto had himself confessed to being a professed brother of a monastery in the City of Naples in Italy, and knew nothing of medicine or physic whatsoever. Bartholomew Jaquinto practised in the Diocese with a foreign Diploma which W. Owleborowe had seen, for it was in Latin, sealed with lead in two seals, one black and white, had gold letters on it and authorised him to practise "in parts across the sea."

But he killed many of the people whom he undertook to cure, as Mr Geere, of Heavitree, a daughter of Mr. Peter de Boughey, a child of Mr. Newman, at Dartmouth, and Mr.

Hickes, of Ashburton: his treatment was quite unlike any other doctor's. Jaquinto also said one day in the hearing of those who were dining with Mr. Holdich that the medical men in this country mixed poison with the drinks of their patients and so dared not administer or prescribe medicine in the dog days. But the following incident shews without doubt the real mission of this suspect.

About the time of the last assizes of the county a gentleman called Arthur Blewett rode through the churchyard at Exeter and got off at Jaquinto's house, when Owleborow said that if he would cure Mr. Blewett of his complaint he would receive a very great and handsome reward, and when the nature of his complaint had been described Jaquinto said: "If the devil is in him I can soon get him out. I will make him sick with a powder put up in a paper, and if he is possessed with an unclean spirit I will put my two fingers and thumb in his mouth and out he will come without hurting him." His behaviour had been as scandalous at Totnes as at Exeter, and his threats to murder persons who declined to submit to his overtures were terrible, as he professed to have some secret powder, which they must take against their will, but which would surely kill them. Another witness in the Close called him *vetus nebulo*, but the ecclesiastical authorities were not only on the watch on account of his nefarious proceedings in medicine, but because of his secret propagation of principles subversive of the Reformation. He was constantly in correspondence with the Court of Rome, and, with the assistance of one Fabritius, another Italian, decoyed the unwary of both sexes into his apartments by means of sugar delicacies made in a foreign fashion.

Numerous other witnesses from Dublin and London appeared in court, who proved that all over the country this iniquitous charlatan had poisoned, seduced and cajoled the unwary and wealthy. The most important witness was Michael Dillon,

who had acted for some years as his interpreter and servant, and said that about the month of April last in Westcott's house, in the cemetery of St. Peter's Church, Jaquinto took in an egg a certain powder, which made him very ill and which he thought would have killed him. When he was *in ultimis* he regretted that he had forsaken his religion and entered the English Church, and said that if it should please God to restore him to his former health, he would no longer cut himself off from the Catholic religion. Jaquinto had evidently been in want of funds, for he had commissioned his interpreter to sell his books, but when asked what he would keep he said nothing but the picture of the Blessed Mary with the Holy Child in her arms, which he kissed over and over again with tears in his eyes, falling on his knees in the deepest devotion. He (Dillon) had never seen his master receive the Holy Synaxis, but he had heard from the Countess of Cumberland that he had been sent into exile from Italy on account of his religion, and that therefore he hated the Venetian Legate and all the Italians because he professed the faith embraced by the English nation: on this account that distinguished lady encouraged him with comforting words and loaded him with constant presents of gold.

This remarkable episode is a valuable comment on the different Acts passed about this time for the suppression of Papists and on the execution of Garnet, while, as to his sham diploma and his practise in physic, he was no worse than one William Machim, who, dissatisfied with his own name, untruly affirmed himself to be the son of Walter Devereux, Esq., and thus nephew of the late Earl of Essex, and, on the strength of this, had tempted and allured a Miss Stead, of Broadclyst, with the promise to make her a Countess. His conduct altogether was most contemptuous, and, to assist the Ordinary in punishing him, orders were given by the justices for his being manacled and taken to the house of correction at Honiton.

But other irregularities which had arisen from harmless and even higher motives in the days of pre-reformed worship called for the strong and frequent condemnation of the religious and civil power, for from 1607 to 1622 war was waged against Church ales, parish ales, young men's ales, clerks' ales and sextons' ales, and all revels were to be utterly suppressed. Clearly in the good old times the end justified the means, and, from the account which Richard Carew, of Antony, gives us of the Church ales in Cornwall, the objects seemed laudable enough. "Two young men," says he, "of the parish are yearly chosen by their last foregoers to be wardens, who, dividing the task, make collection among the parishioners of whatsoever provision it pleaseth them voluntarily to bestow. This they employed in brewing, baking and other *acates*, against Whitsuntide, upon which holidays the neighbours meet at the Church House and there merrily feed on their own victuals, contributing some petty portion to the stock, which by many smalls groweth to a mettly greatness: for there is entertained a kind of emulation between these wardens, who, by his graciousness in gathering and good husbandry in expending, can best advance the Church's profit. Besides the neighbouring parishes at those times lovingly visit one another and this way frankly spend their money together. The afternoons are consumed in such exercises as old and young folk, having leisure, do accustomably wear out the time withal." Such a picture of parochial festivity in happy Cornwall scarcely agrees with the lamentable condition of things undoubtedly produced by the dissolution of the monasteries and general disorder of society, but an order of the Devonshire Bench of Magistrates, which tells us that "sundry suspect persons, roagues both sturdy and begging vagrants, some whereof pretend to be petty chapmen, others pedlers, others glass men, tynckers other palmesters, fortune readers, Egyptians and the like meeting by companies in

obscure places and houses of evill reporte, etc.," receives curious illustration from an entry in the Register of 1609 at Sidmouth, for it is clear therefrom that this large vagrant class was not outside the interest and sympathy of the Church and parson at least there, though the orthography is not Victorian :

Anne the daughter of Rycharde Escotte dwellynge yn Tawne-ton a peadler wandrynge aboute the countrye was baptized 16th daye of Julye.

Though Parson Evans was not much of a scholar and avoided the more dignified terms of the learned clergy, who, in their transcripts to the Bishop's Register of their annual Registers, wrote—

for baptized	for married and	for buried
Illuminati	Nuptiæ	Sepulti

probably he had a heart and visited sick and poor and seems to have known his people, always carefully noting the profession and relationship, as, for instance, in another case he describes a certain "Catheryne as the daughter of Thomas Clarke, the blakesmythe," though, perhaps, Agnes Johnson, even if she was "one of the poore," would not have recognised herself as Annis Jonnersonne ! Names were clearly his crux, for when an extra parochial funeral came to Sidmouth he became rather more phonetic in his spelling, and on the list of burials entered :—"Brye-Gette Squyre wydow of the perryshe of Otteter towne." Fortunate, however, was Sidmouth, and so are many other parishes of less reputation, in having possessed vicars who systematically wrote and kept their parish Registers, two parishes in this neighbourhood having unfortunately but little to show, for, while the history of the manors of Sidbury and Salcombe Regis really date back to the time of the Confessor, and courtrolls and title deeds and circumstantial evidences exist in abundance, all those previous to 1800 of the former have perished, and at Salcombe are not found till 1702.

When we remember that it was from this part of Devon that so many of the early emigrants sailed for that unhappy colony in Virginia, and that our American cousins trace their pedigree from ancient families like that of Conant and Anning from parishes along the south-east coast of Devon, the loss of these precious records cannot be sufficiently deplored. But as time went on, measures did not in any way mitigate for the Popish Recusants any more than for the dissenting community. Papist and Puritan alike might make an appeal to arms, and, as the court was informed in 1640 that there was great resort unto their several houses in this county and that there remained arms in divers of their houses, an order was made for strict search and seizing all arms and gunpowder. At the same time a committee of the House was appointed to inquire and consider how there may be preaching ministers sent where there are none and how they may be maintained.

But the great and terrible crisis was at hand; perplexed condition, dangerous distraction, were the expressions used to describe the feeling of politicians down west: forgiveness and forgetfulness were looked upon as the only remedies, for Prynne's example was not to be forgotten, and yet Devonshire thought it possible to mediate. Some of the most eminent noblemen of the west went up to London and York at the cost of the rates, among whom were Sir John Pole, Sir George Chudleigh, John Bampfield, Arthur Bassett, Sir Edmund Fortescue and Sir Popham Southcott.

One of the most telling points in the first address was as follows:—"Unity in religion, unity in loyal affection to His Majesty will, according to our protestation, by God's mercy, keep us still in peace and charity. The Lord grant it by your houses most approved industry to the preservation of His Majesty and His dominions in the true Protestant religion to all posterity. So your petitioners, etc."

In the second petition the language used became highly hyperbolical and figurative and the following remarkably clumsy trope illustrates the pedantic style of the period. "From our father's loins we receive a touch that leads us thither as the needle to the loadstone: but, as Butler foresaw, 'a bloody duel without blows' was a physical impossibility.

Doubtless such "breaches" had long been widened by the Star Chamber and the Bishops, whose courts, without scruple or diffidence, carried out the enactments of every successive statute, which became law and only did their duty in inculcating regular religious habits and promoting self-respect and the orderly offices of the established religion. The King himself, James I., knew the value of the Arminian clergy, whose views of his power were directly opposed to the Calvinistic impatience of ecclesiastical restraint, and cared but little if the Book of Sports provoked a tempest of wrath against Maypoles and morris dances, but the sailing of the Mayflower marked a crisis in the religious history of England which intensifies admiration at the mysterious dealings of God in His Church. The most remarkable incident in connection with this fact is that the Mayflower is entered by name in the account books of the notary public, which have for 250 years been rotting away in the hidden recesses of the Cathedral Church.

When in 1625 Charles I. came to the throne, the Church of England was in her reformed condition a tottering convalescent after a severe operation, too weak to resist the onslaught of her step-children, too strong to bow to the blows of her enemies.

The Canon law, never abrogated but still binding upon her clergy, if not on every layman in the kingdom, left no loophole for immorality of living, laxity of discipline, or indifference as to doctrine. This constituted a never-ceasing obligation on the Ecclesiastical Courts to prohibit, and dis-

courage by penalty, all infractions of common law. That any nation with instinct of freedom in the heart could now tolerate such a restriction would be incredible and even in the 17th century was impossible. The years of Bishop Cotton were but few and disproportionately slight compared with the bulky effigy of his human worth which meets the eye at the entrance to the south ambulatory of the choir. His nepotism was genuine, while his antecedents had no lack of respectability, and if, by acquiescence in the prevalent demands of the popular taste as concerned dispensation from the ancient canonical restraints of Lenten fast, he and his granted fees and favours, none will, after a lapse of so many years, question his right or wisdom.

His successor, Valentine Cary, Dean of St. Paul's and Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, whose qualifications were possibly more suited for the Bench of City Justices at Exeter than that of the Spiritual Lords - if we may so explain the King's anxiety that he should as Bishop be on the Commission for Exeter, notwithstanding the strong and legitimate expostulation of all the municipal authorities and the opinion of counsel,—held the See but five years, when he made room for a man whose personal character and abilities would not suffer him to leave the diocese in a condition of factious discontent and disorder.

Of Joseph Hall, humble by birth, his dialectical ability, wit and quickness, and other excellent parts it is needless here to speak; but that he refused the See of Gloucester and yet accepted that of Exeter can only be explained by the assumption that the more westerly diocese appeared to offer more scope for his energy and place him in the midst of a city pre-eminently addicted to loyalty, even though he was well aware that to many of the clergy his views would prove disagreeable. A better view of the manner in which he was received could not be given than in an account of the Visitation which he held the year after his appointment.

There was an interval of 400 years between the Episcopacy of Bishop Bronescombe and Bishop Hall. An itinerary of the former having been given long previous to the Reformation, an account of the Visitation of the Bishop Hall in 1628 may help to illustrate his own words as to the prejudice and suspicion with which he was met on first entering the diocese, and the comparative activity of the two Bishops.

Aug. 16. 1628.	On this day the Bishop arranged his *Primary Visitation* as follows :—
Munday 18.	Visite Decanatus Cadberie et Aylesbeare in eccl. B.M. Majoris Exon.
	Preacher Mr. Gideon Edmundes, parsonne of St. George, Clist.
Tuesday 19.	V. Dec. Kenne Dunsford et Christianitatis Exon in loco predicto.
	Preacher Mr. Thomas Aldon of Alphington.
Wensday 20.	V. in capella de Honyton Dec. Honyton et Dunckeswell.
	Preacher Mr. Sam Norrington p. of Uplyme.
Thursday 21.	V. in eccl. de Collampton Dec. Tiverton et Plymptre.
	Preacher Mr. Hugh Cholmie p. of Clare.
Fryday 22.	Ride to South Molton : in the way visite the pecul. of Nymet Epi.
Satturday 23.	V. in eccl. de South Molton : Dec. Molton et Chumleigh post meridiem ride to Barum.
	Preacher Mr. W. Harvey of Burrington.
SUNDAY 24.	BARTH. daie of Rest.
Munday 25.	V. in eccl. de Barum : Dec. Barum et Sherwell.
	Preacher Mr. John Donne p. of Instowe.
Tuesday. 26.	V. in e. de Tawton Epi. pecul. de Tawton. Swymbridge et Landkey :
	Post meridiem ride to Torrington.

Wensday 27.	V. in e. de Torrington : Dec. Torrington et Hartland.
	Preacher Mr. John Pitts of Martinnhoe.
Thursday 28.	Ride from Torrington to Okehampton.
Fryday 29.	V. in cap. de Okehampton inter horas 7 et 9. et ante meridiem Dec. Okeh. et Holsworthye. post. merid. ride to Launceston.
	Preacher Mr. Sam. Mayne of Holsworthie.
Satturday 30.	V. in e. B.M. Mag. Launceston. Dec. Trig-major et East.
	Preacher Mr.
SUNDAY 31.	Rest.
September 1628.	
Munday 1.	V. in e. de (Lezant) South petherwine inter horas 8 et 10 ante meridiem. pecul. de Lezant and ride to (Liskerd) Bodmyn.
Tuesday 2.	V. in e. (Liskerd) Bodmyn Dec. Trig minor et West.
	Preacher Mr. J. Saundres vicar of Bodmyn.
Wensday 3.	Ride from (Liskerd) Bodmyn to Truroe.
Thursday 4.	V. in e. de Truroe. Dec. Pider et Powder 1 p.m. ride to Penryn.
Fryday 5.	V. in e. de Gluvias Dec. Penrith et Verryan et pecul. de Penryn.
Satturday 6.	Ride earlie to Breocke justa Wadebridge and visit the pecul. there inter horas 1 et 3 p.m.
SUNDAY 7.	Rest.
Munday 8.	Ride from Breocke to Lanracke : some may lodge at Lanracke : and some at Saltashe.
Tuesday 9.	V. the pec. at Lanracke : Ride to Plymouth.
Wensday 10.	V. in de Plymouth Dec. Plympton Launceston et Tavistocke.
	Preacher

Thursday 11	Ride to Totnes.
Fryday 12.	V. in e. de Totton Dec. Totton Woodleigh et Ipplepen.
	Preacher Mr. Nath. Moore p. of East Allington.
Satturday 13.	Ride earlie to Paington and visite the pec. there inter horas 8 et 10 a.m. post mer. ride to Exon.
Munday 15.	Ride to Chudleigh and visite Dec. Mooreton et pec. ibidem.
	Preacher Mr. Rob. Woolcumbe vic.
Wensday 17	Visite the Cathedrall Church.
	Preacher Mr. Thomas Hutton Vicar of St. Kewe.

It is interesting at this period to note how many of the clergy were Graduates and in what proportion the Episcopal Visitation fees were paid, the former statistics furnishing a very fair estimate of the influence of the Church upon the thought and tone of the diocese, the latter of the political tendency of the parochial priesthood.

In the Deanery of	Honiton	the Graduates were	14	in No.:	13	paid out of	18
,,	,,	Dunkeswell	,, 6	,,	6	,,	10
,,	,,	Tiverton	,, 13	,,	11	,,	22
,,	,,	Plymptree	,, 12	,,	7	,,	15
,,	,,	Kenn	,, 14	,,	6	,,	20
,,	,,	Dunsford	,, 13	,,	4	,,	16
,,	,,	Christianity	,, 7				
,,	,,	Cadbury	,, 10	,,	8	,,	19
,,	,,	Aylesbeare	,, 15	,,	14	,,	34

In many instances, specially in the Deanery of Tiverton, there is no comment as to payment; but at Pitt Portion, where Lionell Sharpe was Rector, and at Clare, where Emmanuel King's name is written below that of Hugh Cholmeley (the previous Rector), *non solvit* is written below, and at Halberton, where John Gee was Vicar, the more

emphatic comment is: "*recusant solvere*," presumably on the plea that the living was a peculiar of the Dean and Chapter of Bristol, for at Uffculme, which was then in the gift of the Cathedral Church of Sarum, this fact only is inscribed. This refusal recurs constantly in the Kenn Deanery, while in that of Dunsford so unconciliatory was the attitude of the clergy that 38 briefs were delivered for these two Deaneries. In the Deanery of Aylesbeare many of the curates, as at Whimple and Newton Poppleford, were not even licensed.

The Archdeaconry of Barnstaple held a painful pre-eminence for the resistance of its clergy to the Visitatorial authority of the new "Consecrated Calvinist." The Bishop, on his own confession, handed to Mr. Hugh Stowford no less than 118 briefs, on the completion of the Visitation held in South Molton Church August 13th in the same year, only one of the clergy in the Rural Deanery of Barnstaple—Henry Bray, of Westleigh—curate of Christofer Batson—paying his dues, rare exceptions occurring as in the Deanery of Sherwell, where, as a signal instance of complaisance, Richard Richards, Rector of Combe Martyn, whose benefice was then worth £39 8s. 9d., makes the following payments:—

To the Registrar	2s.	dieta 2s. 6d.
,, apparitor	1s. 2d.	
For plurality	3s. 4d.	

A subsequent entry, however, states that John Maurice was Rector.

Another solitary instance is that of John Richards, A.M., who, at Kentesbury (now Countesbury), cheerfully paid Registrar 2s., dieta 2s. 6d., apparitor 1s.

At Stoke Rivers, Richard Moore had for his curate and preacher his own son William.

Torrington was reached on August 27th, but no better reception was found there, John Phipp, A.M., Rector of Little Torrington, being among the Recusants.

Friday, August 29th, 1628, Okehampton was reached, John Hussey, the Vicar, setting an example of concession by paying 3s. 4d., seven others following suit, the briefs amounting to only sixteen. The Holsworthy clergy were scarcely so amenable but four paying, exclusive of Abraham Smythe, Rector of Tetcot, who promised to pay at Launceston, nineteen briefs being significant of the recalcitrant temper of the pastorate on the border line. The entry to Cornwall, which occurred on Saturday, August 3 th, was not more encouraging. Morewinstowe has a comparatively modern notoriety from the fame of Poet Parson Hawker, and here John Phipps refused to pay, because Mr. Huchenson, Rector of Kenn, had not paid him, only eight out of thirty-eight making any payment, the average payments recovering themselves in the Deanery of Trigg East; but in that of Trigg West nine only paid, two being unfavourably noticed. A like theme runs all through the Cornish Visitation, a few glimpses here and there of local interest alone relieving the monotonous indifference of the Diocesan clergy to Episcopal supervision.

At (*illegible*), for example, W. Toms was "preacher of the word" and paid 1s. 4d. When the Bishop arrived at Truro the Deaneries of Pyder and Powder were visited on September 4th, where there was apparently somewhat less resistance to the lawful demands of the Court, John Lee being curate of Lanivett, W. Murray, Bishop of Llandaff, S T.P., being Rector: he was also Rector of Roche, in the patronage of the King, and Rob. Hart was his curate.

The next day was occupied with the Deaneries of Penwith and Kerrier. Some doubt being expressed as to whether St. Issie was in that of Pyder or Kerrier: at Lamorran, George Pippen was Rector, Matthew Woolcott curate.

The following entry is significant, there being an ominous blank space shewing that either there was a question of jurisdiction or locomotion was difficult, access impossible or time failed.

Mons Michaelis: Insula Sulley: S. Buryan: Zennon Capella: Levan, capella annexa Buryan.

The Visitation was continued on September 6th, in the parish church of St. Breocke, of which the Bishop himself was then Rector, for the Peculiars of Padstow, St. Issie, St. Evall, Petrocke Minor, St. Ervan and Breocke, but in no case were procurations paid.

Turning east again, the Bishop came to Plymouth, where, on September 10th, he held his Visitation of the Deaneries of Plympton, Tamerton and Tavistocke, but with no better result: Henry Walters was Vicar of St. Andrew's, Nicholas Heath being "concionator" the preacher. In these three deaneries there were, out of fifty-two clergy, four only who are plainly stated to have paid; six put in no appearance, and of two it is said that they positively refused to pay, the last parish on the list being Dunterton, where Walter Rawleigh, A.B., was Rector, but "non comparet." To visit the three Deaneries of Totnes, Woodleigh and Ipplepen was the work of September 12th—a day most unprofitable, if we may judge from the entire absence of recorded payments and the emphatic finale: Delivered to Colton (the bailiff of the Court) eighteen briefs for the first deanery, twenty-two for that of Woodleigh, and for the last seventeen, including the Bishop's own three Peculiars at Paignton.

The capitular and Episcopal Peculiars set apparently no example, for, in the cases of East Teignmouth, Dawlish and others, briefs were promptly delivered.

A journey to the Moor was scarcely more satisfactory, but, in the case of Widecombe-on-the-Moor, the blame for non-payment lay more on the wealthy Chapter of Exeter than on the Vicar, Clement Ellis, as, while he was in debt to the Bishop for 2s. 8d. only, they were responsible for twice that amount.

Such a record of unappreciated energy in enforcing the

discipline of the Church renders it indisputably clear that he had undoubted cause for complaint of the clergy who sat at the helm of the Church, and had him in great jealousy for too much favour of Puritanism. The predilections of the county families, in whose hands so many of the benefices were, throughout the diocese were distinctly inimical.

If the unquietness of the nights in garrison towns worked upon the tender disposition of his body, so as to disable him from attending the Synod at Dort, his experience of the clerical discourtesy of his own diocese must have been a far sorer trial of his confidence in Divine Providence, of which he dilates so gratefully in his Specialities, though the unexpected addition of the Rectory of St. Breock was only one more act of the extraordinary hand of God in disposing of those events. The example of his immediate predecessor warned him not to tamper with the liberties of the citizens. "Let us mutually all have fayre terms," he wrote, "without trenching upon each other's liberties." With the clergy also it is clear that his principles of concession and affability had so happily prevailed, as he himself declares, that only two who fled to escape his censure remained unreclaimed by his firm and gentle means to win them to good order, and had not some of note among them—envious of his success—opened their mouths against him both in the pulpit and at court, complaining of his licensing preachers throughout the diocese, he had never been compelled to leave this charge recorded against the ministry of the Church in Devon: "Under how dark a cloud I was," being his somewhat lachrymose expression. The subsequent impression, however, was far happier, for, at the conclusion of these biographical observations, he speaks of "my once dear diocese."

The contents of the Act Books and Depositions, Allegations and Sentences are too conclusive proofs of the violent feeling which the Laudian policy had provoked amongst those classes in

which the leaning towards Nonconformity and the ill-concealed hatred of spiritual discipline were obviously strong.

They teem with instances of parochial confusion, where the land-owner and the parson were at open variance, and the former encouraged his tenants to open defiance of the law of the Church or abetted them in the prosecution of charges against their Vicar which ran up to 20 or 30 articles of the libel.

The following cases illustrate the restless want of forbearance between priest and people at this period which culminated in the civil war, and contrast painfully with that policy of winning mildness which characterised Bishop Hall's administration, no less than with the far more Arcadian harmony and love which prevailed in the country parishes before the Reformation.

William Churton was curate of Hartland in 1628, and continued there till the time of the action. The charge against him amounted to this: that he had set himself to base and servile labour, such as fetching home sand in his cart for manuring the ground, refusing to baptize children, administer the Sacrament to dying parishioners, not reading the Litany, but administering Communion to excommunicated persons, and that in a certain sermon he had said that if a Protestant and a Papist did marry together, they brought forth mongrels, nay mere Atheists, which he had essayed to prove by the cases of David's marriage with Michal which resulted in Absalom, and Solomon's with Pharoah's daughter, Rehoboam. In another sermon, improving on the proverb that where God has His Church the devil has his chapel, he had said "But now where God hath the Church the devil hath the chancel," by which words he meant Mr. Luttrell, who then had the impropriation of the Rectory of Hartland. He was a man also given to quarrelling, threatening and reviling his neighbours, calling them abbey lubbers, raskalls, puppies, reprobates, etc.; he had

also challenged Mr. W. Luttrell in the field. Article 12 sets forth that according to the Constitutions of the Church, W. Churton ought to be suspended. It was clear that Mr. Antony Luttrell and his brother were the only moving parties in the suit and found costs. Amongst other parishioners, one Thomas Prust corroborated the story about the sermon, which was undoubtedly indiscreet and calculated to offend. "When religion and superstition," W. Churton had said, "met together they commonly bring forth a mongrel generation, and this I will maintain before any person, abbey lobber or base epicure." Years before Mr. Nicholas Luttrell (since deceased) had complained to the Chancellor of the Diocese of the expressions made by the Vicar.

The Litany he had always commenced with the prayer: "We humbly beseech thee, O Father," until lately. The Bishop had attempted to pacify the parties, but on one occasion, when the Vicar met Mr. Anthony riding, they almost came to blows. A pleasant little touch comes out in the evidence of Robert Yeo, who said that he one day saw the Vicar with a man and a boy and one horse carrying sand in a cart, but that 'the Vicar had in his hand a booke with him and which whiles he was there he did read sometimes.' It was not, however, with only one family that Mr. Churton disagreed, for on one occasion he called Mistress Fortescue, wife of Achilles Fortescue, gent., "reprobate."

The following incident corroborates painfully the statement that a strong uncompromising effort was necessary on the part of the Church to bring back the clergy and laity to a sense of their duties as members of the same.

John Penhorwood was reputed curate of a Chapel called Todiport, belonging to ye Church of Little Torrington.

Informacion was laid against him for selling of ale, and that 'he doth usually sitt and drincke with company in his surples

and in frolics putt on his surpless upon other men to drink with them.'

'Information made by Anthony Silophant, of Little Torrington, and Jonas Pulman, who can testifye the informacion to be true' . . . Daniell Gloyne and others could do the same.

Unfortunately the sting of this trumped up charge was drawn by the following statement:—

The said Penhorwood is an Attorney.

Yet thus it was that Recusants and Nonconformists worked up libellous charges against the Church clergy, and, where nothing serious could be alleged, squibs and lampoons were scattered about the neighbouring villages and at the barbers' shops.

Much valuable information on the religious feelings of the rich and yeoman class is to be obtained, not only from the accounts of the Churchwardens, but also from their wills and inventories in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The parish clergy seem almost invariably to have distributed their livestock and wardrobe, as well as the little ready money they had, amongst their god-children and the parishioners in general. This cannot but be taken as evidence of that good feeling which existed between priest and people. Indeed in many instances where a priest had a small fortune in ready money (as had John Wether, clerk, parson of Littleham, near Bideford), he directed his executors to give alms not merely to his own poor, but to the destitute of the neighbouring parishes, as of Alvington, Hollacombe, Buckland Brewer and Bideford, and left also to his friends the Vicars thereof either pecuniary or other substantial mementoes, such as a cloak, a coat and a doublet to David Chope, curate of Wolfardisworthy. Look at the touching grace shewn in the bequest of Lambe, parson of Stoodleigh, to the church where he had ministered. To it he left all his corn "that is or shalbe at the tyme of my death in

the farme and in the barne to by a pall to cast upon the dead corps both of the poor and rich, the lapidacions of the church—yf there be any—only deducted."

Then note this curious resignation of his legal dues: "I give to every man and woman all such odd calves, lambs' woule, pigges, geesse, offerings, haye and the tythe of servants' wages or hand tithes as of right were dewe to me at the tyme of my death."

Even to every stranger that came to his buriall, for his dole 2d. was bequeathed.

But Walter Doydge, Vicar of Marstowe (*i.e.* Stowe Beate Marie or Maristow), was a married man and found it hard to provide for his two boys when he made his will in 1571, and charged the parson of Coryton with their care.

The town clergy were naturally better off. Sir John Williams, clerk, Chaplain to the Mayor of Exeter in 1577, left by his will out of the goods which, in the pious language of those days, "God had lent him," a little clock, the gift of Sir W. Heaven, late parson of St. Petrock, unto Mr. Gregory Dodds, "And all such stuff as stock concerning my printing with the matrices and the rest of my tooells concerning my presse unto my cosen, John Williams" To a plumber he also left all his plumbing tools. Twenty-four poor people were to be appointed to bear him to his grave and for their pains to have a groat.

The greater part of his plate he ordered to be sold and the proceeds given to the poor of the City of Exeter.

As for Roger Thorn, parson of Combe-in-Teignhead, whose will was proved 9th December, 1572—value £62 18d.—his effects, such as "my grammer books, paper, books, my rugged cow, my 2nd best feather bed, a bolster, a pillow, a pillowtye, a pair of blanketts, a coverlet, a payre of sheets, 4 of my best platters, fower pettyngers, 4 saucers, my best chest with a lock

and key, my best gilt candlestick and my little black nagge—all these I give to my kinnysman, J. Cornyshe."

But when Roger Bachelor, Rector of Churchstowe, made his will in 1427, he left two marks to paint a picture of the Blessed Mary in the chancel, and to Jane Zhurde *filiole mee* 40s. for her marriage portion, to the parson of Ringmore bequeathing his cup with this very wholesome motto at the bottom : *Qui bibit multum—facit stultum ?*

Then some of these last testaments are full of a very genuine religious aspiration as when Thomas Watson, Vicar of Axminster, making his will in 1568, indites this devout preamble :

I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, desiring him in his deare son Jesus Christ to send me the Hollie Ghost at my departing and to grant me remission of my synnes, and my body to be buried in the chancel there if it please God.

Thus it was under the direction of the clergy at such times no doubt that the devout layman made his will, and invariably up to the later years of the 17th century began by a solemn commendation of his soul to God in the first place, and in the second place determined as to where his body should be laid.

Thus Mr. Gregory Hockmore, a man of position and property in all parts of Devon, when he made his will in 1571, on October 9th, begins by saying that "being sicke in bodie but of perfecte mind and remembrance," he bequeaths "his sole to Almightie God his creator, redemer and sanctifier and his bodie to be buried in the parishe churche of Combeintyned" "*in the Ile where I use to sytt*," just as the clergy of the different churches expressed a wish to be interred in the chancell of the church wherein they ministered, as for example did John Carnell, Rector of Haccombe (who, by the way, does not here avail himself of the title of Archpriest), in 1445, but commences by saying that "nothing is more certain than death, or less certain than the hour of death," and leaves £20

and his cow in calf to find a light to burn before the image of St. Blaze in Haccombe Church and numerous gifts to the neighbouring churches, and to some in Cornwall, as well as money and a pipe of wine to Downe the priest, to celebrate for a year for his soul, at Haccombe.

The predilection for burial on the very spot in the church where in life the worshipper had sat was not unnatural, but proved extremely detrimental to the order and decency of the sacred building, inasmuch as it frequently happened that after an interment weeks elapsed before the earth was replaced, the stones relaid and the pews re-erected. The sanitary objections to intramural burial are too obvious to need explanation. Still, unconquerable and almost superstitious affection for one particular spot upon the floor of the parish church is not yet eradicated from the minds of old-fashioned country folk, and in many a church in the West of England these immense wooden barricades testify to the jealousy with which generations of Church people delight to sit over the remains of those whose property they had inherited almost as it were with the chivalrous determination of Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah.

Hence arose those numerous quarrels about pews, which filled the Courts with actions all through the 17th and 18th centuries, to the disgrace and detriment of the Church.

The responsibility of the Churchwardens was thus greatly increased, while there can be no doubt that disease and sickness spread rapidly, so that at Barnstaple, in 1592, the wardens thought themselves justified in paying 5s. 4d. to watchmen to stand at Litchedon on Fridays to keep out Moulton men infected with the plague. The Black Death in the thirteenth century had decimated priest and people.

If we look, however, into the conduct of the clergy, we must not attribute ignorance or cowardice to them in the discharge of their duties. The ravages of small pox were terrible at rapidly recurring periods from the end of the sixteenth century;

at the end of the seventeenth a fever called the "ship fever" infested the towns and villages of Torbay, having been introduced by the Dutch fleet.

Still in these and similar epidemics the clergy were at hand, unfailing in their sympathy and assisting rich and poor alike, regardless of their own safety. A curious glimpse, however, of clerical caution occurred at Dawlish, in 1618, when a parishioner, by name Woodcock, lay a dying in his house in the town, and three of his friends came to see him. To them he expressed a wish to make his will. They therefore sent for the Vicar, John Marker, who came to the street, and standing outside the house, for fear of infection, wrote down the will from the dictation of the friends who heard the words of the dying man in his bed. While he was doing this it got dark and so the Vicar went away, promising to write it out fair and bring it for signature the next morning, which he did, but the testator was dead. At Cockington, however, in 1689, when Mistress Agnes Terry was dying of small pox at Christmas time she sent for Henry Punchard, the goldsmith, and he came *sans peur*. This, however, is certain, that it is impossible to sustain a charge of undue influence against the clergy of the seventeenth century as to testamentary dispositions in Devon and Cornwall.

A few cases do occur in the sixteenth century of restitution on the part of laymen who had systematically spited themselves no less than their parish priest, by withholding what was due to God and his ministers. Conscience became sore and compunctions grievous to be borne by a weak heart in a quickly failing body, and so after dictating in tremulous voice, the testator subscribed with his shaky hand to an act of timely restitution:

"Item to forgotten tithes .. 13s. 4d."

Undoubtedly the duty of the spiritual adviser distinctly was to remind the sinner how he should make amends for a naughty life by shewing mercy to the poor. Hence the immense num-

ber of doles, bread, coal, blanket and other gifts which even now after years of spoliation or forgetfulness remain to be divided in highly favoured parishes, amongst the poor of the parish.

At no time, nor in any way, do the idiosyncrasies of the character so vividly shew themselves as in these wills, which were so often "declared" under the direction of the clergyman of the parish.

When, in 1638, Jane May, of Treworgie, in the parish of St. Cleare, would dispose of her worldly goods she must have had a marvellous idea of the everlasting continuity or permanence of human investment, when, with tender heart, after leaving to Joane Connock her diamond ring ('which I entreat her to wear for my sake'), she wrote "I do give and bequeath to the poore of the parish of St. Cleare the some of XLs. to be left in the hands of the Churchwardens and to be employed for their relief as the yearly profits shall arise, *so to contynew to this world's end.*"

Here also is a thoughtful provision made for the education of children. The will of Robert Yeabb, yeoman, of Slapton, was proved on July 15, 1639, but only nine months before,—after saying that he 'gave and bequeathed his soule to Almightie God his maker, and to Jesus Christ his sonne, his Saviour and Redeemer, by whose blod sheddinge upon the cross he hoped to be saved at the generall day of resurrection'—his anxiety for the education of his children persuaded him to add this clause: "Item, I do give unto Mr. Vincent Sparke, the scholemaster of Blackawton, 40s. of lawfull English money in regard of the trew, faithfull love and acquaintance that hath ever benne betwene us. And for that he hath promised me to teach my sonne, Robert Yeabb, and my daughter, Jane Yeabb, to write and read. And if my father-in-law, Thomas Mills, shall denye and not to suffer my said sonne and daughter to go to schoole, my will is that all the use of their portions given

them shall be paid unto my wiefe during the life of my mother." He had already provided that his mother's rent should be paid during her natural life.

One or two other specimens of this duly devout disposition in things testamentary must be given to shew how forcibly the religious sentiment entered into the business affairs of Churchmen at that period, expressions (whether of sincerity or not), never attempted in this enlightened *fin de siecle*. Thus thought and willed Roger Weekes, of Zeal Monachorum, on March 20, 1632:

March 20, 1632, "In the Name of God, Amen, &c., &c.

"Imprimis I bequeath my sperit and soule unto Jesus Christ, who hath redeemed me by his precious death and meritts. Item my body unto the dust and Ashes of which I confesse I was made unto Christian Buriall in the churchyard of Zeale aforesd."

Or again, thus does Tristram Rowe, butcher, of the city of Exon, bear witness that no trade however seemingly unaffected by sacred associations need interfere with a man's faith in God.

"I, T.R., commend my soule into the hands of my everloving God, being fully assured that by the death and passion of my Saviour, Jesus Christ, my sinnes are fully pardoned, And that after this life I shall raigne with him for ever in glorie."

Much valuable information illustrative of Church construction, repair and energy, may be obtained from the accounts of the Wardens. We must here be content with a few notes from those of Lamerton, in 1638. For instance, some of the festivals on which the Holy Communion was celebrated involved this expenditure. On November 5th, 6s. 10d. was paid for bread and for wine; on Palm Sunday, 10s.; on Maundy Thursday, 3s. 8d.; on Easter Eve and Easter Day, £1 4s. 2d.; on Sunday after Easter, 2s. 8d.; on Whit Sunday, 5s. 10d.;

at Christmas, 6s. 8d. Two new pewter pots cost 7s. 10d.; a new flagginge to carry the wyne, £1 10s.

Edward Toll received 6d. for cleaning "the Church Lidds" after the snow. The bells were also put to rights. This was chiefly defrayed by a voluntary subscription; at the top of the list the name of Mr. Edward Tremayne appears for the sum of 5s. The whole amount collected was £30 18s. 10d. Thomas Pennington received £16 for new casting the 2nd and 4th bells and for metal, and was bound to keep them sound for one whole year. A *douceur* of £2 6s. was thrown in for his work about them.

Then a Common Prayer cost 9s., and bringing home of the Book, 6d. Finally, pd. Mr. Tremayne's huntsman for killing of five grayes (or badgers) in our parish, 3s.

The office of Churchwarden was indeed no sinecure, and if the adage of Panormitanus be true—as some do say—that the poverty of benefices begets an ignorant priesthood, the extraordinary calls upon the wardens in many places must have begotten a pretentious bumbledom and an obstinate people. The difficulty of keeping strict accounts, collecting church rates, providing for every new article of furniture or book ordered by successive and at times contradictory legislation, the groundless demands on their funds, and the duty of pleasing every parishioner in the appropriation of seats according to his own quality,—these multifarious calls on a man's time and temper rendered the office of Churchwarden the most invidious and thankless in the parish.

Great, for example, were the shortcomings of William Newcombe, one of the Churchwardens of Withycombe Rawleigh—to quote only one case out of scores,—for had he not in the years 1628, 1629, 1630, and 1631, 'wilfully neglected and desparately omitted to present the following defects to the great danger and perill of his soule and evill exampell to others.'

With him Christopher Adger was included in the libel, and

had wrongfully and unjustly detayned 20s. or thereabouts which they had received for the use of the Church and parish.

The capital offences, which are of some present day interest to this parish, were that he had omitted to present the decays of the leads of the Church called St. John's and the want of a door to the Chapel Nave of St. Michael's, and the ruins of the Chapel called St. Margaret's, and the defects of the chest in the locks and keys, and in the writings, books, accounts and ornaments not kept therein, and likewise omitted to present the names of them who have not paid their church rates, neither declared how the church house was taken away, neither did deliver up the goods of the church by will indented, neither have they or the former Churchwardens made a just and true account, &c., &c.

Such neglect on the part of the responsible officials without doubt accounts for the lamentable condition in which many of the churches even now are or until recently have been, for the loss of registers and mutilation, for absence of plate, and disappearance of charities.

Innumerable instances of a like character may be quoted, but these will suffice.

It has been left for the 19th century to restore such things and re-edify the Church of England at all costs.

While we are dealing with the question of church preservation and pews, we may quote a few proofs of the assertion that the principle of seat-appropriation was most objectionable and hazardous.

In 1665 John Johnson and Stephen Mann with Mr. Peter Holway, Rector of Hennock (though it is hard to see what business he had in this part of the country) certified that "the seat erected by Mr. Peter Bartoe in Dunkeswell Church for his wife or tenents' wife, and supposed to be pulled down by Andrew Whitehorn, where and as it stood was very prejudicial to the uniformity of the seats, and did exceedingly straighten

the passage to the bell-chamber, and is not convenient in that place."

At Tiverton greater unpleasantness arose, so that Mr. Sam Foote took action against Ellis Bennet, gent., for disturbance in the parish church. "The case thus: In Mr. Foote's absence a friend of his buys for him according to ye custome of our parish a certain seate. And now Bennett pretends title, which when scann'd will prove crazy. Although in some cases an ejectment at law lyes for a seat, but that is when 'tis appendant to a tenement."

"The seat was bought for Mr. Foote last Easter Monday: the disturbance has been every Sunday since, &c. Geo. Stucley. May 23, 1675."

A long dispute took place also at Munkley in 1680 with reference to the pews belonging to a barton called Lower Lea in which the disputing parties were Vigurs and Palmer.

At Ipplepen the eight men of the parish by right occupied a front seat in the parish church, but the Tory party, convinced of the necessity of giving Mr. Neale, the largest landowner in the parish, the pre-eminent pew, displaced these important worthies, and forsooth because he had generously contributed to the erection of a comely seat, ousted the working men because they were "mean mechanical persons"—that is—there were amongst them the village smith and other labouring men.

At Kingskerswell, the adjoining parish, the Whiteways and Narramores struggled and strove for front seats and put up and pulled down with unamiable contradiction, to the scandal of the church, and the eclipse of both minister and clerk in their respective desks.

Indeed so serious were the fracas that arose that on one occasion, at West Corneworthy, Anne Hurle was not only abused in coming into her seat in the time of Divine Service by Mary Efford, insomuch that she suffered severely for a long

time, but the consequences were well-nigh fatal (her baby being prematurely born) from her being forced out of her seat.

The proper way of arranging all such matters was exemplified in the case of John P. Vennick, of St. Breage, gent., who intended in 1689 to shortly remove and inhabit with his wife and family at Tregimber in the parish of St. Hillarie. He desired to have allotted to him a voyd place above the seats on the north side of the north chancel and undertook to erect the seat at his own proper cost and charge. To this the minister, William Orchard, the churchwardens and the parishioners consented, and the seat was assigned to him *nem. con.*

At a very unsettled time too, in the parish of Plymouth, the Mayor and Wardens accepted from Jonathan Sparke, Esq., the sum of £100 towards the building of Charles Church, to be paid thus: £30 down and the rest in three years following was the consideration for which they granted him 'soe much ground and in such a place as he and his heyres shall make choyce after a place hath been chosen for the Mayor and Magistrates, and after the seats have been builded, to remain to him and to his heyres for ever.'

Approved of by—

1646—Barth. Nicoll, Maior.
1647—Xpher Ceely, Maior.
1648—Richard Evens, Maior.
1649—Timothy Alsop, Maior.

A subsequent memorandum of 18 Aug., 1654. adds that J. S. having promised £40 more to the furnishing of the Church of Charles to be paid by £10 a year, of which one £10 is already received—the Mayor of 1654, John Page, confirms former grant to sd. ground to build three convenient seats for ever.

In this way the unfortunate system of freehold in church sittings was obtained. In many churches of the boroughs the Mayor had power to assign and appropriate sittings after this

fashion, as at Launceston, Dartmouth, Barnstaple, Tiverton and elsewhere.

The setting up of a pew seems in some cases to have had almost a monumental solemnity, judging from the formal severity in which we read for an example the statement that—"whereas George Gibbs, yeoman of ye parish of Clist St. George, did sett up for himself a pew in a vacant place within ye Church of ye parish aforesaid" Robert Suxpitch, yeoman, had removed and taken it away: the inhabitants, therefore, 11 in number (of whom two were women) 'doe think it more reasonable, yt ye former seat belonging to George Gibbs doe there remaine, then ye Robert Suxpitch, without ye consent of ye parishioners doe remove ye same, specially as sd Robert had before more than seats enough for his whole family: this certainly was the *suaviter in modo* way of arranging the matter.'

There is certainly a different way of looking at things as pews, and as to what is or is not "a thing of beauty" for ever, opinions must also always differ, but there is a vein of quaint adulation and pleasantry in the petition to the Chancellor which Matt. Nicholls, the Vicar of Borington, attested when he declared that whereas Mr. Thomas Melhuish, the greatest payer to the Church of Borington, is destitute of convenient seats for himself and family, they whose names were here subscribed did most humbly certify that there are two seats in the North Side of the Minister's seat between the Roodloft and the Bellferrye (!) most convenient for the sd. Mr. Melhuish, which when builded will be a great ornament to our sd. church, and inasmuch as no person doth oppose, we humbly desire your Lordship to grant the order.

Two good reasons: the positive—the pews an ornament; the negative: no opposition. But the third was the clenching argument: he, that is Mr. Thomas Melhuish, "being always very well affected to Episcopal jurisdiction." Feb. 25, 1669.

The consenting petitioners in the parish were two in number.

The clause in the following agreement come to between the wardens and inhabitants of Churchstow on the one part and John Ryder, gent , of Leigh, within this parish, of the other part, has the ring of Biblical diction. 'For the settling of peace, amitie, and concord, they agreed that he J. R., his heirs, successors and occupiers of this said Barton, of Leigh, shall have and enjoy the South Ile of the sd church, there to sit, kneel, and hear Divine Service and sermons, and to bring their dead there, as occasion shall require.'

Then in conclusion comes a covenant as to keeping the said aisle in necessary repair. 1665. 24 Ap.

But the grant to Mr. Ryder was liable to this qualification, which again illustrates the ancient usage of burial before referred to. After the said agreement had been shewn to and signed by the sd parishioners, John Ryder shewed it to Mrs. Phillippa Hains and read it unto her, and she having heard and well considered thereof, said that "she did well like it and at the same time tould this deponent that whereas her deceased husband, Mr. Arthur Hains, was, by leave obtained of Mr. John Ryder, buried in the said South Isle, she did desire by ye leave of him that her body might there also be buried by her deceased husband."

This was shown before Chancellor Martin Jan. 18. 1665.

In connection with this subject it is of importance here to notice the complaint brought by Richard Conant, of Budleigh, in 1675, as to the custom by which renters of tithes entered upon glebe land and took corn from his tenant. In his opinion it was a very unjust and unreasonable thing that glebe land should pay tithes to proctors or (which is all one) ministers to laymen. "I never knew any such thing done before. Are glebe lands titheable by proctors or not," was his inquiry of the Bishop's Registrar.

The varying customs of the parishes illustrate in a very vivid manner local habits of thought and prejudice, as well as peculiar services of divers manors and churches.

Such was the old rule of Bickington. The churchwarden was entitled to give notice on a Sunday in church which family was called upon to fetch healing or shindell stones from the quarry to repair the roof of the parish church and curate's house. There was a stated and regular sum allotted for this: 4d. a seam of stones. The work was obligatory; 12d. a day was paid to those who were present "at the Ratyng of the Subsydyes."

At Denbury still more intimate with the House of God and the offices of the Sanctuary was the connection, every householder supplying, according to a regular rota, his loaf or loaves for the use of the church.

At Braunton the offerings towards the fabric of the church were also in kind, every tenant, according to his ability, paying so many bushels of oats or barley.

At Lawhitton a very homely custom prevailed. The farmers brought their milk and butter and cheese to church to be blessed, and this was called bringing it "home." All the oblations were placed on the ground before the image of St. Michael and afterwards removed. The interdependence of Church and State is more curiously illustrated by what was called the "stynted" tithe at Launceston, a payment of 6s. 8d.—'a contribution for and in respect as well of the tithes happeninge in and upon the lande and gardens belonging to the Castle, but also as the Pryvie tithes and general oblacions of the keeper of the Castle for the tyme his wif, children, servantes and household that do inhabite and dwell within the same and do hear Divine Service celebrated and do receive the Sacramentes ministered in the Church of St. Mary Magdalen by the Curate there.' In 1587 Tristram Mapowder was the defaulter.

Thus in very deed was the Church the nursing mother of the agricultural and labouring classes. The man who tilled the land brought his produce, the fisherman who went out into the deep and caught his hake or cod in Newfoundland, when he came to shore, rendered his tithe in fish, but more often in money; the miner, according to the customs of Wendron, paid his proportion of tin—all to the church, and God's earthly representative commissioner, their parson.

Thus in the days of settled peace and unbroken domestic rural life the hamlet gathered and nestled in their thick cob rush-thatched walls around the old church town and sanctuary and kneeling, "drained the cup of God."

ARMS OF THE CHANCELLOR OF EXETER CATHEDRAL.

CHAPTER XI.

It may be thought by some who read, for lack indeed of better opportunity, from third or even fourth-hand records and so-called historical manuals their ideas of Church life after the terrible act of sacrilege which blackens the English Calendar on January 30th, 1649, that when the King's head fell at Whitehall, the Church died the same day and Episcopacy and the Liturgy came suddenly to an end. The Chapter Acts at Exeter expose this fallacy. There was no break in the continuous life of that Corporate body which took breath 600 years before, at the command of the Confessor. There was no break in the continuous life of the Church. A brief account of what occurred in the Cathedral Church will show how the changes involved much structural deformation, but in no way interfered with the continuous existence of the Chapter any more than of the parochial churches, which through successive

spoliations still raise their towers on every hilltop in Devon and Cornwall.

The Mayor of Exeter did but too well present the feelings of the citizens when he refused to accept any proclamations from the newly constituted Parliamentary party and threw them out into the gutter. The Dean and the Chapter had no means of acting on the offensive, but in all other respects they showed their loyalty. They had some time since called in to the inspection of the armory (in all probability a small stand of muskets for the half-dozen men they had to supply to the Crown as service) their excellent neighbour Sir Amias Bampfield, but the absolute refusal to hand over one of their account books left the aggressors in a very helpless position as to their finances, while Dean Peterson, who married a daughter of Bishop Hall, betook himself to the friendly and salubrious shelter of Powderham Castle.

Exeter had offered a firm resistance to the Parliamentary army, nor until it had exhausted every means of relief and every hope of succour was a truce signed, and Fairfax billetted his men on the Palace of the Bishop, and made the Chapter house into stables for their horses. Such remains in glass and brass monuments as had survived the Protestant fidelity of Dean Haynes to the scrupulous commands of his Royal pupil Edward VI., now served as butts for the pious marksmen of the Roundhead forces and excited their boon companions, a ribald rabble who hung on the rear of this sacrilegious host. The dead were exhumed, stripped and grossly insulted, and the living beheld their parish churches abandoned to the spoiler and their ministers ejected. The King at the approach of Fairfax had fled in all haste to Oxford, having received as the tribute of the loyal citizens the substantial assurance of £800 in hard cash. From the Cathedral Chapter the King received constant subsidies, affectionately and readily given, but not without serious interference with their own financial prospects :

yet under such strong pressure that resistance was impossible. In July, 1639, an order had been given for all the Capitular manors to be surveyed, apparently with a view to estimating what money could be raised by the renewal of leases to help the impoverished Royal Exchequer. Peace and agreement were not possible on any terms in those critical days, as a rather remarkable instance in connection with the loyalty of the Chapter shews. On the same day (April the 6th, 1639) that they decreed £100 should be paid to the Lord Bishop for a contribution unto his Majesty, we read that "whereas Mr. Archdeacon Helyar, upone his owne head and without approbation or consent of the Chapter hath contrary to the custom and plain statute of the Church taken down the Kings Arms, which were very fair and set up new, and doth now desire the charges by him therin laid out to be repaid him, they did absolutely deny the same as judging it an ill precedent that any single member of the Chapter should charge the Body without a general consent." The Archdeacon came of a most loyal stock: his grandson, owner of Coker Court, in Somerset, served with distinction in the King's army as Lieutenant Colonel, and went into exile in 1646, compounding for his estates with a large sum of money, but preserving to his descendants one most precious heirloom, a beautiful miniature of the unhappy monarch, enamelled on a splendid emerald.

The new arms which the Archdeacon was thus called upon to pay for out of his own pocket, in a disorderly condition have been recently discovered : fair indeed they are in carving and colour. But the day of reckless dealing was at hand, and the sum of £2,000 was of more practical proof of allegiance than the best work of Grinley Gibbons ! Yet it was nothing less than thousands which they were expected to raise on their manorial estates. Matters were coming to a serious pass. On June 20th as the Dean came out of the Choir of the Cathedral in his hood and surplice, Walter Sainthill served him with a writ out

of the High Court of Chancery for £196, which was due to the King, and their position was so strained with the Archdeacon on account of the many suits pending between them and himself that they could not allow him to search their records without the presence of the Chapter Clerk.

The Manor of Staverton, one of the richest of the Capitular properties was now specially in question. Letters were to be sent to His Grace of Canterbury on this matter, but the very next meeting a question of decorative repair came up, which at a time of such supreme national anxiety, seems utterly unworthy of attention, but offers one more proof of the unremitting care lavished on the fabric of the Cathedral Church by the beneficiary trustees. In August of the same eventful year they ordered that the monument of King Edward the Confessor should be with all convenient speed repaired by Peeke and Pope at 10s. wages a piece.

The Common right of Capitular jurisdiction was on October 19th vested in the Dean alone, and after him in each dignitary in due succession so as to legally perpetuate the juridical power of action which otherwise would lapse.

Mr. Stowell was appointed surveyor of Staverton, and on December 7th Mr. Walker and Dr. Vilvayne agreed to pay £2000 for 21 years lease of Staverton. This was finally confirmed for the third day. Then a new but not unforseen contingency arose. It had been the immemorial custom of the Chapter at their weekly meetings on Saturday—which have been rigidly adhered to for 800 years—to make some regular bequest or alms to the poor of the city, but now in the present critical condition, the needy and indigent so crowded the doors of the Chapter House that they deemed it advisable to send the Mayor £4 10s for the poor at Christmas as he think fit. The best comment on further action is found in the grants which the Cathedral Body made to every demand on the part of the Court. Having received leave from the Archbishop of

Canterbury to break the only recent restraint laid on their leasing of manors, they now repeal them and grant £500 towards the repairing of the Church of St. Paul. When Convocation was summoned this year and a Canon would of necessity have to go to London, the manor of Bampton was to be taken en route, and surveyed.

Still more money was to be got, as by renewing the lease of Stoke Canon, the second best of their estates, Lord Paulet would pay £600. Amongst other manors to be realized was Branscombe, which brought in £1500. These, however, are amply enough to shew the strain put upon the Cathedral Chapter by these altogether exceptional demands.

Certain it is that in this way many thousands of pounds of money were raised for the Crown, the one argument which justifies such use of Church property being this, that having been endowed by the kings of England from time immemorial, the least that they could do for their lineal representative was to supply him with the means of thwarting the devices of his enemies. Acting on this principle, the Chapter now devoted themselves week after week to granting leases of Culmstock, Ide, Norton, and Salcombe, to their friends, the last falling to Sir Thomas Stafford, both the leasehold and copyhold fetching £400. The manors of Sidbury, Branscombe and Dawlish, followed in like manner, until the sweeping monotony of alienation had exhausted its widest limits. During all these hazardous and unscrupulous transactions, the parishes in which they held interests of value were not overlooked *in spiritualibus*, for when it was found that Mr. George Dodderidge, Vicar of Stoke Canon, was unable to fulfil his duties of preaching there, they voted £20 for a preaching minister, but finding that their funds were too low to allow such an expenditure, decreed that each Canon should preach there in turn, or forfeit 10s. to be given to the poor of that parish. Royal Proclamations had been issued for a public fast to be kept on the last Wednesday in February, and in every succeeding month during the troubles

in Ireland: they therefore decreed that greater solemnity should be given to this day by the preaching of sermons in turn by each of the residentiary Canons. The election of Ralph Brownrigg to the See, vacant by the translation of Bishop Hall to Worcester, in March, 1641, took place as the modern Seneca said "in evil times," not only for himself but all connected with the Church of England.

Bishop Brownrigg—though indeed he never personally administered the diocese as its spiritual head—fortunate in the friendship of Mr. Rich, of Sunning, in Berkshire, found quiet and safe retirement from the risks attached to official preferment, while he managed at the same time to occupy the pulpit of the Temple Church, until his death in 1659, when the Benchers buried him at their own cost. Installed, as he was by proxy, in the person of Canon Hutchenson, he escaped the ignominious degradation and misery which overwhelmed all persons bearing ecclesiastical preferment, nor knew he anything of the straits to which his Chapter were driven for ready money. For example, on December 6th, 1643, on the very day that they had accepted a surrender of the lease at Salcombe, and agreed on the £400 being accepted from Sir Thomas Stafford for renewal, a certain Mr. Jenkins was ordered to ride with a letter unto Dr. Vilvaine, who was clearly the Crœsus of the Chapter, at Plympton, for the procuring of money "for his Majestys occasions:" all his charges were to be paid and also 20s. to buy him a pair of gloves.

Until 1646, the customary appointments and installations of all the officers of the Cathedral went on as before, but on a Saturday (May 23), of that year, it was decreed "that for urgent necessities bills be fixed in the Quire for a full Chapter that day fortnight," for when June 6th came it was found that the Parliament Committee, commonly called "the Commissioners for the County of Devon," were sitting there, so that the Chapter adjourned to the house of Chancellor Burnell and went through all the usual statutable formalities, declaring

those Canons contumacious who had not appeared. Sir John Berkeley had capitulated on April 9th, and in this capitulation it was provided that the infant Princess and her suite should remove to any part of the kingdom. The Queen had sought the kindly shelter of this loyal city under circumstances of great personal peril and her reliance on the citizens was not ill placed. The Corporation voted her a present of £200, but all such tokens of good will were of little value when we remember that the City was really at the mercy of the strongest army, not of right but might. The Cathedral Register of Baptisms has this simple memorandum :—

> "Henrietta daughter of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles and our Gracious Queene Mary was baptized the 21th of July, 1644."

But the impoverishment of the City of Exeter was less surprising than demoralising. On August 30th, Prince Charles came to Exeter, and as testimony of their humble duties the City gave him £200, "raised out of the orphans money." At this time the sanitary condition of affairs within the walls must have been as trying as the behaviour of Goring, the Captain of the troopers, for they robbed the poor fishermen who brought in their baskets and played havoc with the goods and chattells of the loyal citizens. The sums of money advanced for the Royal and for public service had practically ruined the city, and when on March 31st, Fairfax wrote expecting a speedy and positive answer to his summons to the Governor, resistance was useless. Sir Peter Ball, who having paid a competent fine of £1250 as a sop to Cerberus thought it wiser till the Restoration to live in retirement, urged immediate surrender, and on April 9th the articles, 24 in number, were signed.

Full honour was to be given to the city : with colours flying, drums beating and with sufficient convoys, were the Royalist troops to march out The Cathedral Church was not to be defaced, nor were the other Churches to be spoiled. On the

former point we can produce an excellent witness, even Fuller, the divine, who was at this time chaplain to the Princess and her suite, and was in Exeter all the time of the siege and says:—"I must not forget the Articles of Exeter, whereof I had the benefit, living and waiting there on the Kings daughter." His admiration, however, for the Republican system received a rude shock when they deprived him of his Bodleian Lectureship for his loyalty. Their peculiar views came out also in other ways, somewhat in the French style, after the fall of the Napoleonic dynasty, when sculptors might be seen obliterating the significant capital "N" on the public buildings of Paris. When Bartholomew Cemetery was consecrated by Bishop Hall, upon August 24th, 1637, an inscription to that effect was carved on a slab of stone on the gateway. This simple statement grievously offended the ruling powers in 1648, so that on November 23rd it was ordered that "Mr. Receiver doe cause the inscription in the wall of the new churchyard purporting the consecration thereof to be defaced." This order, however, was never carried out. But the Great Church—as the Cathedral was called—and, indeed, did not the very word bear the evil savour of Popery?—fell into the hands of the Chamber, which was then carefully packed with persons of appropriate tendencies, able to distinguish between a Church established and endowed under free and Presbyterian principles and the effete and monstrous Scarlet Woman under English Episcopacy.

Their highly laudable purpose was to obtain competent means for the ministers here out of the lands of the Dean and Chapter, but, failing that plan, the yearly rent of various houses in the City was granted by Parliament towards the ministers, not exceeding 2s. in the £. This tithe was most unpalatable to the citizens and as its collection became more difficult a so-called ordinance was passed by the Parliament "for the promoting and more frequent preachinge of the

Gospell and maynteynance of ministers in the City of Exeter, and uniting of parishes and parish churches within the said Cittie of Exeter." August 11th, 1657, is a day much to be observed in that city. The records thereof declare without apology to the present generation of faithful churchmen that then and there the order of the Municipal Chief Authority was officially given for the obliteration of all the ancient landmarks of the Catholic Faith.

The Directory was to be adhered to as the form for public prayer in the church of S. Mary Major, of S. Petrock, of S. Mary Arches, and of S. Edmunds. The other churches were superfluous and therefore useless. They were announced for sale by the town crier. The towers were to be taken down clean to the roof by the purchasers and the sites to be made into schools or burying places.

The parish churches thus disposed of were as follows :—

S. Stephens, with cellar under same, sold May 11th, 1658, to Toby Allen ..	230	0	0
S. Kerrians, sold to parishioners ..	66	13	4
S. Martins	100	0	0
S. Georges	100	0	0
S. Laurences, June 7th, 1658 ..	100	0	0
All Hallowes, Goldsmith Street, sold to Dr. Vilvain, June 19th ..	50	0	0
S. Pancras, to the parishioners ..	50	0	0
All Hallowes on the Walls (then unroofed)	33	6	8
Trinity, to the parishioners ..	100	0	0
S. Mary Steps, sold Sept. 14th ..	100	0	0
S. John's Bow	100	0	0
S. Pauls, by the parishioners, Nov. 9th, 1658	105	0	0
S. Olave			

St. Peters was perhaps too weighty a bargain for any of the

citizens and notwithstanding all its idolatrous defilements capable of improvement, if dedicated to a miscellaneous congregation of worshippers of the right spirit. These were, at least at that time in the eyes of the Government, the Presbyterians, represented by the Corporation, and the Independents by Cromwell's train bands. Both must be accommodated in one and the same building. To the former section music and singing were mortal sins: to the latter nothing was more congenial and, if we may believe it, more acceptable to Almighty God. "It is agreed," we read in the records of the Council, "that the partition of the Cathedral Church of S. Peters be made with a brick wall on the east part of the cross aisle, where the organs stood, closing up the body or middle aisle upon a foundation which is already there, and filling up the place where the doors stand in the aisle sides leading into the choir, and that the south tower be divided by a wall of ...foot high and a passage made through a chapel there from the east church into the belfry." Mr. Walter Deeble whose honorable name might but for this exquisite contract have been unknown to posterity, offered to complete this noble piece of brick-work, all plastered and whitened, for £150, which sum was to be paid him out of the first moneys that could be raised, so exceedingly urgent and so highly creditable was this notable erection to be.

But that every vestige of the old system might be destroyed and neither the superstition or supervision might be carried on which were habitual in the Mother Church in the days of her unreformed beauty (when the High Altar was a mass of glistening silver, all her vessels were of pure gold and the vestments of the priests glowed with gems) it was ordered that John Parr, who dwelt in the Treasury rooms, that are over the north porch, and Ralph Tooze who watched hard by should be ejected and that, in a word, all the safeguards which had been thought desirable of old time should be done away with, to

make way for the proprieties of the Commonwealth. The supply of ministers exercised the Council. As patrons they presented Mr. Ferdinando Nicholl to Mary Arches, Thomas Downe to Edmunds, Robert Atkins to Peters East, Mark Downe for Petrocks, and John Bartlett for Mary the More. A seventh minister was to be added, and Mr. Thomas Ford was specially favoured, being commissioned to carry on his lecture on Wednesdays as hitherto he had done, and assist the other ministers as he hath strength and opportunity. The feeling of the citizens was, however, from the very first strongly opposed to the rude and reckless cruelty with which these "Children of Righteousness" treated both church and clergy. Not only was it in their minds to use store of timber and other materials kept for the repair of the fabric of the Cathedral Church for the fortifications of the city, but the Chancellor Burnell, an aged and much loved divine was threatened with imprisonment and would doubtless have been locked up had not some of the citizens interfered on his behalf. Canon Helyar fared even worse at their hands, and after being subjected to every sort of insult and hardship only redeemed his liberty by paying £800.

The Bishop's palace as an accommodation for a cattle market and sugar factory, and the cloisters as a cloth market were put to such base uses as their builders can never have contemplated, while structures of less substantial material were burnt and pillaged.

That a deep feeling of resentment was smouldering in the hearts of the loyal citizens cannot be doubted, though the rising under Colonel Penruddock and Mr. Hugh Groves was certainly illtimed. In 1654-5, they proclaimed King Charles II., at Salisbury, and for lack of support marched to Southmolton, only to surrender Executed on May 16th, 1655, the former was buried, privately, in S. Laurence's Church, and Mr. Groves in S. Sidwell's. It is somewhat significant of the

unconcealed hatred of the Republican faction in Exeter, that, as Izaacke the old Exeter historian tells us, some thousand persons of the *depressed* party attended, of which number he thought himself happy to be one.

The incidental glimpses which we obtain from unlooked for sources, as to religious affairs in the West, are exceptionally quaint. When Exeter was closely beset by the forces of Parliament, the large country houses of the neighbourhood were occupied by garrison troops. Peamore, though not one of the finest, as connected with the family of Kekewich is recognized by the inhabitants of Exeter as agreeably situated and within easy reach. Here a Puritan officer was quartered, whose views on cider and sermons are deserving of notice. Writing from Chudleigh, to Lenthall the Speaker of the House, under date February 2nd, 1645, he says:—"I pray commend me to all our Friends; tell them I am, thanks be to God, in health, and want only two things respecting my inward and outward condition; the one, a preacher like Mr. Stirry, the other, a cup of London beer. There is a scarcity of the former here and the latter not to be had, only a little sowre Syder." This (unfortunately) anonymous epistle is an instructive comment on the temper and tastes of the 17th century "saints" who set about the reformation of the English Church, and amongst other crimes of tremendous issue counted Church ales and village revels as the most unpardonable. The multiplicity of alehouses was a grievous evil: specially on the Sabbath days were there great abuses and disorders: the service of Almighty God was much hindered. 'In those times of trouble and so great contagion (ran the words of the indictment), there were manie enemyes of the common pease and weale of the Kingdome' who went, for instance, to the yearly revel at Cheriton Fitzpaine, but whether it was a greater sin for a layman than for a clerk or parson to take upon himself to marry a couple with the ordinary marriage service of

the Church after it had been enacted that marriages should be solemnized before a justice of the peace we have no means of deciding. "The Keepers of the Liberties of England," (for so ran the official title of Parliament when the Royal name and authority had been once for all condemned as iniquitous) had set themselves a task no less Augean than the moral cleansing by legal enactment and penalty of the English people.

For example, Humfrey Trevett was committed till he paid 33s. 4d. to the poor of Harford for swearing 10 oaths: John Huishe was convicted for swearing 22 oaths and 2 curses at one time. When then we hear that these oaths, as indulged in by William Hearding, of Chittlehampton, and Gilbert Northcote were nothing worse than the solemn asseveration, "Upon my life," and that to confirm a statement by saying quietly and reverently, "God is my witness," or, "I speak in the presence of God," could not be used without penalties varying from 3s. 4d. to 10s., we understand how the Puritan Discipline to the people must have seemed as scorpions to the whips of the old ecclesiastical Court. As not unfrequently happened the women were not behindhand in their resistance to new means or ministers.

Agnes Davie, of Sandford, near Crediton obviously had no liking for Mr. Hopkins, her minister, for she said that he went up into the pulpit with God in his mouth and the devil in his heart. At Ashcombe also it seems that Mr. Edward Hunt, who had been placed there by the Committee of the County as a Godly and able minister to receive the tithes, dues and other profits, did not prove acceptable to the churchwardens and other disaffected persons of the parish, for they kept away the key of the church and disturbed and interrupted him in the exercise of his ministerial function.

It is not indeed surprising to hear of wide spread discontent with the new order of things ecclesiastical and social, but dissatisfied persons were not either so bold or so easily detected

as was a certain tailor of Tavistock, by name William Worth, who is described in the indictment as a dangerous and seditious man, evil affected unto and disliking the governors and government established in this Commonwealth of England, &c., now sitting at Westminster on June 20th, 1652. These malicious, seditious and dangerous words had he been heard to utter and speak with a loud voice: that he did hope to have a King again and that he should have the carrying of the Roundheaded rogues to jail. He was fined £10 and pilloried for one hour. Hillary Rennell, of Okehampton, was another shocking instance of disaffection to the government of the "honest, godly and religious persons then assembled in Parliament at Westminster": he was prepared to prove them none but bloodthirsty, murderous and treacherous rogues. The penalty meted out to another Royalist who could not digest the claims of Cromwell to saintliness was of a serious nature pecuniarily considered. John Huishe was probably father-in-law of Adjutant-General Allen who was arrested in January, 1655, on a charge of mutiny by Captain Upton Cooke, and the High Sheriff of Devon, in his very house. Huishe had been conmitted to the assizes for saying the Lord Protector was a rogue, and he did hope to live so long to see him hanged or burnt very shortly.

That the laws against Sabbath breaking, poaching and impurity should be rigidly enforced there can be no reason to complain but that a section of Christians so unassuming and inoffensive as the Quakers should be brought under the severe condemnation of the law at such a time does appear incongruous; nevertheless one Mary Erberie, a lady of fortune, who said she was going with her servants to visit some prisoners in Lanceston gaol, "people that are by the world scornfully called Quakers" was arrested and deprived of certain books, of pious title unquestionably but presumably unpalatable to the honest and

godly men who composed the Committee of the County. Of these we shall hear more anon.

Upon the parochial clergy, however, of this diocese the full force of the Parliamentary indignation fell with relentless tyranny. Judging from the following case, deprivation was not the only penalty for constitutional principles.

December 18th, 1662. Luggershall. These are to certifie those whome it may concerne that the bearer hereof, John Every, before these troublesome times, was a lawfull Minister, and had his conversation with us at Ludgershall, and Collingborne Kingston, the space of three yeeres, or there about and serving his Matie, being taken prisoner by the Parlyment, was deprived by them of all that he had and *his orders taken from him.* In witnes whereof we, which were then his neighbour, Ministers have given him this our testimonie. And: Read. Hum: Tolley. Leon: Alexander.

At the period which we are now treating a sermon was more fruitful of result at least for the preacher if not for his audience than can be easily realised under present circumstances. In some cases it must have been extremely difficult for a spy of the Presbyterian persuasion to lay a distinct charge against a loyalist parson, but for those who had the courage of their principles and were resolved at all costs to advocate them, serious perils were in store as Robert Ball, M.A., Vicar of S. Marychurch, found when about the time of the King's murder he preached on (what Walker in his Sufferings of the clergy, calls "that unseasonable text"); Fear God and honor the King. He had married a daughter of Dr. William Hutchenson, a canon of Exeter, and being a native of Cockington and a fellow of Balliol, occupied a distinguished position in the neighbourhood. Possibly it was on the strength of this that regardless of consequences he took upon himself thus promptly and publicly to rebuke the perpetrators of sacrilege. The effect was equally prompt: arrested and carried off by a troop of horse he was dragged before the committee at Exeter, where he was

reviled and abused: he was forced to find substantial bail: his house was plundered: his cattle driven off: obliged to disguise and conceal himself, he often carried a hook in his hand and with a pair of rough gloves went about as a labourer. His courage if not his scholarship stood him in good stead, for he lived to see the usurper, one Robert Stidson, a man of no parts, turned out of his benefice, and after enjoying for a short time his own again, died at the age of 74.

The changes and chances of this mortal life were never more graphically illustrated than in the life of Mr. William Bankes, vicar of Heavitree.

Hard up for a charge, the Committee receiving information that he had advised some children who were playing at the old game of one and thirty, to number the picks with their fingers, accused him of being a card player. Friends he had, however, in quarters least expected, and truest among them was Mr. Stukeley, famous as the Independent Minister of S. Sidwells, so that he not only survived the Usurpation, but in due course became Prebendary of Exeter. Sermons again proved remarkably dangerous in the case of Thomas Bedford, sometime curate of Plymouth.

The King had presented him in succession to Dr. Wilson, to the vicarage of Plymouth, which appointment was sufficient "to cast him into a nasty gaol" and send him by sea prisoner to London. While he was in prison, the Governor of Plymouth happened to be removed and an honest minister in the simplicity of his soul, thinking little or nothing of the effect, took for his text, Felix willing to do the Jews a pleasure left Paul bound, and for his temerity scarcely escaped the gaol

There were also grievances greater than sermons to be brought against the clergy, the instinct of self-preservation aggravating the capital sin of staunch allegiance, and of such was the Vicar of Knowstone and Molland, who having inherited from his father due respect for constitutional

principles, and succeeded him in the benefice soon tasted the fruits of the Independent doctrines of love. Daniel Berry was turned out of his vicarage, his house broken open, his servants beaten, his family left to starve, while he himself sought a place of concealment under a pile of faggots, until sorely probed by the soldiers swords, he was forced to give himself into their hands. They then threatened to hang him up at the gate of a parishioner with whom he was on bad terms, but he purchased his life at £20. They afterwards threshed out his corn and carried it off, took away the bed on which he lay, and sold his goods by public auction, with the exception of his books, which were bestowed on the notorious Stukeley. It was a very fine library and filled nine carts, but not so much as one book would they return to their rightful owner. Shortly afterwards he died from a broken heart and complaints brought on by the cruel treatment he had received, at the age of 45.

The case of Martin Blake, Vicar of Barnstaple, furnishes a fair example of the regular system of almost legalized robbery and perjury by which the clergy were ousted from their livings and persecuted from city to city. For having plainly advised the Mayor and Aldermen of his native town to be at once reconciled to their lawful sovereign when the place was besieged, one Tooker, a most uncompromising foe of the Church, to whom he had shewn many kindnesses, got a petition signed and presented to the Grand Committee for the West, stuffed as Walker tells us, with lies and falsehoods, through which he was summoned to appear before them on May 14th, 1646. Great was Tooker's disgust to find when he went round the town endeavouring to obtain more signatures to his precious petition, that not one could by any means be obtained but that all were readily signing a counter-petition. Pocketing therefore his own, he set about ruining those who upheld Mr. Blake, until a favourable opportunity occurred to bring it up before the Standing Committee of Devon. On May 1st, Blake appeared

at Exeter, and after various adjournments and subterfuges which his enemies found necessary for the accomplishment of their purpose, was charged with being an enemy to godliness, betraying Barum to the King, and endeavouring the same at Plymouth. It was also solemnly affirmed that the good people of Barnstaple could receive no comfort or benefit by his ministry. Subsequently, by a variety of devices, he was pronounced a delinquent and suspended, but after endless trouble and vicissitudes, was so fortunate as to recover his vicarage in 1660, and in five years was collated to a Prebendal Stall in Exeter Cathedral, which he enjoyed for 8 years.

It is clearly beyond our power to give any lengthy or full account of all the sufferings of the clergy in Devon and Cornwall, but a few further brief notices must suffice.

Robert Bowber, Rector of Stockley Pomeroy, had dared to baptize an infant with the proper office of the Church of England. On this charge, pursued by his enemies, he was compelled to leap out of the window in his shirt when the snow was on the ground and hide for three days and nights in a furze bush. Poor Mr. Charles Churchill, an Exeter College man, though much liked by his own people, was distasteful to an old lady of a neighbouring parish, who unkindly swore in evidence that she had seen him "distempered with liquor," which she was certain of because "his face was red," whereas the fact really was that he suffered from a scorbutic complaint. A jocular remark which he dropped with reference to one Major Saunders, who was on the bench, was used against him at once, and when it was actually declared that his children had been seen to play at cards for pins, the accumulative scandal was amply sufficient to justify, or shall we say, persuade the Court to turn him out as a "scandalous, ignorant and insufficient minister."

What consideration then could be shewn to clergy so deeply steeped in the sin of loyalty as were John Edgcomb, Rector of

North Huish, or James Forbest, who having been plundered and sequestered by the Exeter Committee, when required to pay £30 as the price of his freedom, said he would gladly lend them that amount to buy halters to hang themselves.

His successor in the living was a fair specimen of the most vigorous Nonconformist section of the Republican party. Tucker was his name: for a weaver he was by profession and his iconoclastic enthusiasm had much of sweetness and light to commend him to the parishioners of Bovey Tracey, to whom he was called by the Commonwealth to preach the gospel of peace.

In preaching he always wore his sword: not content with pulling down the king's arms, he likewise vented his spleen on God's Commandments, and with his own hands essayed to hack the font in pieces.

But a really worthy man was Thomas Flavell, Rector of Ruan Major and Vicar of Mullian, whose loyalty was only equalled by his courage, for he waited on Colonel Penruddock in gaol and buried his body after execution with the rites of the Church, boldly declaring that he would not cut off his own beard till the return of the king to his throne. Surviving the Usurpation, he received his benefices again and a Prebendal Stall.

In many instances the great complaint urged against the parochial clergy was a lack of preaching ability, but this could not be urged against Mr. Antony Gregory, the Rector of Petrockstowe, for he was so diligent in this particular that he usually preached twice on each Sunday and was so highly esteemed by all the country round that many persons came from Pilton and Barnstaple, a distance of 15 miles, to attend Divine worship there.

He 'amongst many other equally energetic ministers of the diocese' owed his ejection to Lewis Stukeley.

Then again there were such crimes charged to the beneficed clergy as that of charity. Insufficiency was insufficient but coupled with acts of kindness such as Philip Hall, Rector of

Upton Pyne, had shewn to Colonel Penruddock and Colonel Groves, enough evidence was forthcoming to prove that he was ill-affected towards the brethren and fit victim for sequestration and any refinement of injury and insult which their coarse ingenuity might invent.

Equally unfortunate was the aged Vicar of Burrington, Mr. William Harvey, a man universally esteemed in the county. The accusation against him was that he had preached a "Cavalier" sermon at Southmolton, and prayed for the King, crimes in the eyes of the then ruling powers so lamentable that he was forbidden to preach or read prayers anywhere in the county in any church or chapel, to read prayers in a squire's house, or even say grace at a gentleman's table.

As for poor Mr. Jones, of Offwell, they summoned him for observing Good Friday, and neglecting the Parliamentary fasts: they smashed his organ and musical instruments.

William Lane, Rector of Aveton Gifford, was another of those scholars who were so specially obnoxious to the cobblers and weavers in the Cromwellian host. His sufferings, written by his son in the most simple but pathetic style, appealed so strongly to Walker that he observes with something of sadness: Mr. Lane is certainly the first instance in all English history of a Bachelor of Divinity, who was forced to turn miller and dig in a quarry for a livelihood.

The extortion of money was in every case the main purpose of the cruel treatment to which the clergy and their families were always subjected by the rough soldiers of Fairfax's army, but it was not every wife who could purchase her husband's safety for £100, as did Mrs. Reynolds, the helpmate of Richard Reynolds, Rector of Stoke Fleming, Fellow of Exeter College and eventually Chaplain to Queen Anne. In many respects this excellent old scholar obtained a victory over his assailants, and after a chequered and laborious life of close on 100 years, was permitted to die in peace.

The evils inseparable from such continual changes and ejections in the parishes of the diocese became unbearable. In the aforenamed church of Stoke Fleming during the Usurpation, the Blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not once administered in 14 years.

The parish of Drewsteignton is commonly associated with traditions of most ancient worship, but nothing even as reasonable as the plain ordinary reading of the Litany and Epistle and Gospel was permissible at this critical day by the most honest and reputable clergyman, for this was Mr. Antony Short's crime, who added this above all to his trangressions, that he spoke in derogation to the Parliament and Assembly. He wore also his Doctorlike ornaments, probably his hood and bands or gown at the Communion table, and this was an offence to be purged with nothing less than sequestration. The dislike of his successor to pay even the fifths due to his wife lead to a story of some pertinence in this connection. This Thomas Herring was one day catechizing the children, whom he had instructed, that the minister stood in the place of God. This had evidently made some impression on their minds for on one occasion when he came to examine them, asking one of the boys, among other questions; "in whose place do I stand?" received from an untoward youth this uncomfortable reply; "In Dr. Short's place, sir."

Hugh Pym, Rector of Clayhanger, was at least more favoured in his friends than some of the Devonshire parsons, for when the soldiers came and treated his household with violence, Mr. Nutcombe, a worthy neighbour, intervened and paid them to go away. As it was on many occasions, he barely escaped with a whole pate. His heart was as strong as his head, it appears, for through continual interruptions he persisted in reading the liturgy all through the rebellion.

The ridiculous inevitably found a place during some of these altogether extraordinary times and an illustration comes to

light in the comical proceedings which took place at Peyhembury where, without actual dispossession, few men underwent more downright bullying than Mr. Robert Terry. One Christmas day as he was on his way into the pulpit, he was seized by some soldiers, who forced their way into his house and ate up all the provisions he had made for that festival, though they had indeed in the eyes of all such rigid converts been prepared for superstitious uses. Custard and plum-porridge, those loathsome abominations in the sight of any holy man, were nevertheless consumed, and Major Saunders, of whom we have before heard, so far forgot his solemn abjuration of all worldly delights as to cut out the long bone of a sirloin of beef for his own eating, a joint which for this reason bears his name, and is called "Saunder's bone" to this day.

There is no more affecting tale of the want and woes of a loyal minister than that of the Vicar of Otterton, Richard Venne, Master of Arts of Cambridge, who was reported to Lord Fairfax, when he was at Tiverton, as a dangerous partisan of the King. A troop of horse was instantly sent to bring him before the general: this they did, dragging him out of his house half clad on an inclement day just before Christmas. The hardships of the journey were too much for him and on his arrival he fainted away. On the next day brought before the General he was charged with reading the Mass, which of course he could not deny, knowing as a scholar that this is the old historical name for the Holy Communion which he had always most scrupulously celebrated in accordance with the orders of the Book of Common Prayer. Henceforth dragged about from place to place with the army, it was not without much difficulty that he obtained a temporary release, only to be again arrested and brought up before the Exeter Committee, by whose command he was imprisoned for eleven months (1656-7) and lay upon the bare boards. False charges were trumped up against him by worthless fellows, who at the same time could not help bearing

witness to his goodness and it is easy to see now from the depositions of the witnesses which were taken in the Consistorial Court some years before, and from the note books of the officials concerned in the actions which came up in the Bishop's Court (which have recently come to light) that the ill feeling in the parish arose in the first place on a matter of tithes. From these documents we gather that he had sold part of his tithes to a parishioner, and when some delay in payment occurred, injudiciously brought him before the Court.

The sequestration was ordered and a troop of horse sent to eject Richard Venne, and insert in his stead one Conant, a man of ancient Huguenot family which had for some years been settled in the neighbourhood.

Venne's wife and eleven children were turned out into the road, and while one of his little ones was standing by the side of a great trooper, it innocently began to play with the pretty pink hose in which the legs of the stalwart soldier were cased, upon which harmless action the barbarous wretch struck it such a blow across the head as well nigh killed it.

His children were at the mercy of the world, homeless and penniless, until one was adopted by an old servant, another apprenticed to a chandler, and a third brought up by a farmer. The Vicar of Otterton then fled to Liskeard, was hunted thence to Black Aveton, and as a reward of all his trials at last recovered his benefice and the fifths which had long been due to him from the intruder Conant, after the Restoration.

Conant threw the money contemptuously on the floor, and as Venne stooped to collect it, he said: Well! Well! I will take the pains to pick it up.

The name however of Conant is familiar under different circumstances in the county as well as at Oxford about this time. Early in the century one John Conant, the son of respectable parents at Yettington, in the parish of Bicton, near East Budleigh, a youth of great promise and presumably not

entirely destitute of both piety and wit, was sent up to the old foundation of Bishop Stapledon at Oxford, where encouraged by the kindly patronage of Dr. Prideaux who, being much impressed with his essays at disputation on philosophical subjects, made this appropriate allusion to his success in the words which have ever since served as the family motto (*Conanti nihil difficile*) he obtained a fellowship and gave himself up to the study of Divinity. Before the year 1643 he was residing at Lymington, whence his reputation appears to have so widely spread that he was appointed one of the Assembly of Divines who were to meet at Westminster for the settlement of the new government and liturgy of the Church of England. On the death of Dr. Hakewill, he was elected Rector of Exeter College in 1649, and in 1654 took his degree of Doctor of Divinity, succeeding to the chair of the Regius Professor.

As this diligent and learned man climbed higher up the ladder of distinction and honour, the dangers and difficulties which then surrounded all posts of trust in the State and University became more serious. The Parliament required every man throughout the kingdom who was over 18 years of age to take the following oath :—You shall be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established without King or House of Lords.

Dr. Conant took this oath, but qualified his engagement and saved, as he believed his conscience, by making this declaration before the Commissioners : Being required to subscribe, I humbly premise—(1) That I be not hereby understood to approve of what hath been done, in order unto, or under this present government, or the Government itself, nor will I be thought hereby to condemn it : they being things above my reach and I not knowing the grounds of the proceedings ; (2) That I do not bind myself to do anything contrary to the word of God ; (3) That I do not hereby so bind myself, but that if God shall remarkably call me to submit to any other

power, I may be at liberty to obey that call, notwithstanding the present engagement.

In this sense, and in this sense only, I do promise to be true and faithful to the present Government, as it is now established without King or House of Lords.

The Rector of Exeter was, in fact, a diplomatist of no mean order, and had in all his divinity not ignored the casuistry of an earlier school. The results of such circumspection were not only or indeed altogether his election for three successive years as Vice-Chancellor, but the peace and respect which he enjoyed during his tenure of an office, at such times specially difficult and hazardous. There is much room for doubt whether he ever embraced *toto corde* the downright tenets of the English Church, but he, in any way, so managed to steer clear of misunderstandings with the Parliament, and yet preserve his loyalty to the Church, that after being appointed Vicar of Northampton, where he distinguished himself by his efforts to relieve the poor and destitute and re-build the town after a most disastrous fire, he was installed Archdeacon of Norwich in 1676 and preferred to a Prebendal stall at Worcester in 1681.

Happier days were now at hand for the Church, and on May 11th, 1660, King Charles II. had been proclaimed at several places within the City of Exon, and this by the hands of a Devonshire man, whom the Protector had not been able to fathom, for, wrote he, while George Monk was in command of the army in Scotland, ''tis said there is a cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who lies in wait there to serve Charles Stuart.' There can be no question but that the father and family of the great Republican General were instrumental in bringing about the return of the Monarchy. Rump Parliament killed itself on March 17th, and on April 25th, 1660, the new House decided to recall the King. Three hogsheads of good claret wine, on behalf of the Town Council,

poured into the conduits of the city, testified to the joy and thankfulness with which the news was received at Exeter. Plate worth £600 was but a trifling present to a monarch restored thus mercifully to his father's throne and loyal people.

The Cathedral clergy had been kept too long out of their sanctuary to tarry long and allow dilatory measures of reparation. On September 18th the Chapter demanded possession of the building: the roof had to be mended, seats put up, windows glazed, and other indispensable repairs done. The patronage of the Cathedral Chapter was then arranged: balls according to ancient custom were cast for vacant benefices, tenants ordered to pay rents, and other business was entertained and rightly and duly conducted as if the miserable events of the past had been but a nightmare. The confusion and irregularities which had superseded the statutable assignment of income, the distribution of patronage and renewal of leases, were replaced by a prompt transaction of Capitular business, and abuses which had crept in were instantly rectified. The precautions taken by even the wisest and most longsighted of the older canons had not availed to save their personal interests. In 1639 the lease of Thorverton Manor, which Canon Cotton and his brother Edward, Archdeacon of Totnes had secured, had been sold over their heads, and, as neither of them had actually kept one year's residence, they had no claim on any part of the Cathedral property or any voice in Chapter. Other matters of equal importance demanded attention; amongst these was the performance of service, and to this intent, on March 18th, 1660, Dr. Ward admitted 12 choristers; lay vicars were nominated, elected, and installed, and a valiant attempt was made to restore the services of the Cathedral Church.

The Chapter House was in far too ruinous a condition to be occupied at the weekly meetings of the Cathedral body, and refuge was found in the Lady Chapel. One of their first

anxieties was the appointment of a lecturer, and to this intent the Dean and Canon Bury were deputed to confer with the Chamber so as to arrange for a sermon on Sunday afternoons, the Chapter themselves providing a sermon every Sunday morning at 10 o'clock in the Nave. From this period dates the erection of those monstrous boxes with which the church was blocked until recent times. Mr. Arthur Bury, son of Canon Bury, was elected to the afternoon lectureship at a salary of £40.

Charles Hall, B.A., was nominated Chaplain of Exeter College. John Parr was appointed bellringer, so long as he behaved himself, on January 7th, 1660. Thomas Moore, singing master, became subchanter with a stipend of £20. Hugh Geare, a secondary amongst the choir men, was lodged in gaol for £9 16s. arrears of rent, which was paid for him by the Chapter. John Jewel, a probationer, was shortly afterwards allowed £6 to buy a gown and surplice, and all the choir were likewise to be decently habited. Express orders were received from the King to reduce the Cathedral Church and cloisters to their original condition and use before the late unhappy troubles—a proceeding not in all respects appreciated by the city authorities, who pleaded that the county and city found great convenience from holding the cloth market there: this could, however, be no longer permitted. Southgate was the proper place, and thither it must be at once removed. The muniments, charters, and other documentary evidences had been for safety taken to London when the war began, but were now brought back and inspected, and sorted by the Treasurer, Surveyor, and Geare in the audit house. Mr. Isack had given all his books to the Cathedral, and Dr. Prideaux now subscribes £100.

The canopies, reredos, and other stoneworks about the Table and over the seats in the chancel were whitewashed and cleaned.

The Capitular rights in the tin mines at Piran required

supervision. A sum of not less than £600 was to be kept in hand for the church stock, as in other parish churches.

The houses in the cloisters were let to poor old men who had served the King. Mr. Twiggs, minister of Chittlehampton, had run off with one of the great cushions: his prosecution was decreed.

Mr. Snow had taken care of the plate and other furniture of the Chapter: he now brought in two large gilt flagons with cases, one silver basin, two gilt chalices with their covers and a fair crimson velvet carpet with gold and silver fringe.

The Dean now revoked his protest against granting leases, and was to receive £200 for an estate at Norton "in regard of the good offices he hath done the church." The lease of Stoke Canon was renewed to Mr. Alford for a fine of £1,647; Culmstock to Captain Sanford for 21 years at £2,400. He was, however, called upon to give security for his rent of the manor up to 1645 and an engagement in £500 not to grant leases there contrary to custom. The Hon. William Ashburnham, as the King's "cofferer"—at times it must be feared an anxious sinecure—was to have a good estate. The King was to be kept fully informed of all such affairs. Sir Hugh Pollard might have a lease of Staverton at £7,814 fine and yearly rent of £240. Unless Sir John Yonge closed with their offer of taking a lease of Sidbury, they intended to sell it and thus increase the pay of the Non-Residentiary Canons. These gentlemen did not appear to realize the necessity of coming to preach in propriâ personâ or sending an efficient substitute. For the future they were to receive £4 for each preaching turn, of which sum, in their default, 40s. was to go towards supplying the deficiency and the other moiety to the library fund.

The little acts of official almsgiving, which have been always and are yet kept up, are instructive. A wretch afflicted with scrofula was allowed 10s. towards his cost of being cured of

the king's evil. Mr. Ware, minister of St. Petrock, got £10 towards his present necessities; £20 were voted to the restoration of St. Sidwell's Church tower, and the old seats in the Cathedral were also bestowed on the highly-favoured daughter church which had suffered grievously in the late troubles.

Nor was it thought unseemly two years afterwards, when a feeling of permanent security arose, for this grave and learned Body Corporate to vote, that, May 29th being the King's day of restoration and inauguration, £50 be given to the poor; £5 for a dinner for the choir, and £10 15s. for the Chapter, with power to invite whom they would.

This grant, in conclusion, is not insignificant.

William Webber, a minister, shall receive 10s. towards his charges going to London 'to seeke reliefe as a Commissionate Officer in the late King's army.'

On October 30th, 1660, the Dean and Chapter of Exeter received the King's brief for the election of John Gauden, Dean of Bocking and Master of the Temple, to the Bishoprick, vacant by the death of Ralph Brownrigg. Citations were immediately issued to the Residentiary and Non-Residentiary Canons to appear in the Chapter House on November 3rd instant.

Duly elected by his Chapter, he was consecrated by Archbishop Juxon, and on Nov. 18th, 1660, installed in the person of his lawfully constituted proctor, Robert Hall, the Treasurer, in his Cathedral Church, with some of the more seemly ceremonies of an earlier rite. A procession was in proper order marshalled and escorted by the vicars and clergy, singing the Te Deum, and the first Bishop after the usurpation took his seat on the throne of Leofric. His advancement was unquestionably due to the Eikon Basilike, a work acknowledged as his by no less excellent an authority than the son of the Royal Martyr, King Charles II., and also by the Duke of York.

Into the merits or authorship of this mysterious and affecting book it would be neither desirable nor possible here to enter. Without dispute, the portraiture of the unhappy monarch is the work of John Gauden. The painting of a single portrait has seldom brought greater fame to a painter than this pathetic work brought to the Bishop of the See of Exeter.

The following list of the first ordinations held by Bishop Gauden are interesting. Those who received both Deacon's and Priest's orders at one time are marked with double asterisks.

This ordination is described as taking place in the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Peter at Exeter on January 13th, 1660.

Josias Hall.**
John Hopping.**
Thomas Finney (or Fynney) **
Stephen Bloy.**
Samuel Symonds.**
John Rowe.**
Thomas Lethbridge.**
John Elliott.**
Thomas Glanvill.**
Alexander Atkey.**
John Cowbridge.**
Walter May.**
Abraham Ball.**
Edmund Dollinge.**
John Gidleigh.**
George Cope.**
Jonathan Battishill.**
John Wonnacer.**
Thomas Hake.**
Humfry Long.**
Job Weale.**
Richard Whiteway.**
James Rowe.**
John Fowler.**
Elias Deane.**

Priests.

George Reynell.
Nicholas Stephens.
Robert Venn.
Richard Bailey.
Richard Rolle.
Edmond Orchard.

Deacons.

Samuel Ford.
John Yeo.
Robert Streete.
Benjamin Allen.
Pierce Horwell.
William Sheffield.

Priests.	*Deacons.*
Thomas Burrell.	James Hayward.* (A line drawn through his name as Priest.)
Robert Haycroft.	Benjamin Johns.
	Robert Terry.

On the same schedule occurs again in Latin this list:

20th Oct., 1661, by the Rev. Father Lord John, &c., in the Choir.

Edward Goswell, A.B.	Deacons only.
James Elmeston, A B.	
John Sharpe, literate	
Owen Gealard, literate	
George Barter, A.B.	
Ezekiell Wood, A.M.	Ordained Deacons and Priests.
Peter May, literate	
Richard Bastard, literate	
William Harris, A.M.	
Walter Brace, A.M.	
Richard Mungey, literate	
Benedict Ball, A.B.	
George Sampford, A.B.	
Toby Treadwell, literate	
Samuel Moyle, A B.	Already ordained Deacons, now Priests.
Joseph Bishopp, A.M.	
Charles Hall, A.B.	
John Yeo, A.B.	
John Crabb, A.B.	
Robert Norris, A.B.	

29th Oct., 1661, in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

John Dinham, A.M.	First sworn, then made Deacon and Priest.
Walter Wakeham, A M.	First sworn, then subscribed and ordained Deacon and Priest.

6th Nov., 1661, in aforesaid Chapel.

John Crocker, A.B.	Already a Deacon, then sworn and ordained Priest.

30. Martii, 1660. Nomina ordinandorum in sacros ordines.

Diaconi.	*Presbiteri.*
John Brayne.	John Brayne.
Edmund Condye.	Edmund Condye.
Richard Eastchurche.	Richard Eastchurche.
John Randall.	John Randall.
Samuel Veale.	Samuel Veale.
Ralph Ffenwicke.	William Borough.
Robert Triggs.	Ralph Ffenwicke.
Thomas Colpresse (rejected)	Robert Triggs.
Thomas Spurway.	Thomas Spurway.
Thomas Reeve.	John Berry.
Samuel Ffinney.	Samuel Ffinney.
George Gregory.	George Gregory.
William Pollexfen.	Pierce Horwell.
Richard Rutter.	Robert Tirrey.
	Richard Rutter.
	Phillipp Dynham.

The welcome which Bishop Gauden received on his entry to the Diocese shewed the joy with which the people of the West recognised his collation to the See as a sign of regeneration for the Throne and Church, but when a richer reward for literary loyalty was in prospect and the condition of the palace and Cathedral properties was as ominously wretched as at Exeter, it is little wonder that the author of the kingly sufferings accepted translation to Worcester, leaving a legacy of renovation to Seth Ward, the Precentor, who, having scarcely had time to sit down in the stall of the Dean, which he held but a short year, became Bishop in 1662, when he immediately set about demolishing the "Babylonish wall" which separated choir and nave, made a clean sweep of the huckster's stalls and reared up upon the rood loft the famous organ, which, with the assistance of Loosemore, at a cost of £2000, he left behind him as the record of a prelate—no builder like Quivil

or Grandisson—but a restorer of the ruins of the Cathedral constitution by statutes, who, by his scholarship, not only at Exeter but after his translation to Sarum, stands *inter primos*.

As the author of and an original promoter of the Royal Society, Gauden was worthily succeeded by Anthony Sparrow, who had experienced the gentle treatment of the Puritan committee, having been ejected from his living and put to the utmost straits for the support of his family, until fickle fortune, by leaps and bounds, carried him from the Archdeaconry of Sudbury to the See of Exeter in 1667, and, within a decade, back to his own country in the Palace at Norwich, where, if any monument were needed, he died after another ten years, leaving as his visible epitaph on the shelves of every clerical library the familiar titles of his great works—Rationale and Collection of Articles.

No lack of material work in wood and stone had been, by Providence, reserved for the Dean of Rochester, Thomas Lamplugh, who in 1676 was consecrated to the Episcopal throne in the parts of Devon and Cornwall to give an example of fatherly hospitality and of devout worship to his clergy—truly excellent qualities which may (so far as they merit praise) be set against the marvellous caprice of the unsettled political opinions which induced him to exhort all his flock, both clerk and lay, to remain steadfast in their allegiance to their crowned and lawful King, James, and yet, while refusing to receive the Prince of Orange on his disembarkation within his diocese, immediately received the Archbishopric of York, as the reward of his change of view—an honour which, if we may believe some champions of his probity, he was with extreme difficulty prevailed upon to accept. Unconsciously promoting, as Bishop Lamplugh did, the great era of religious liberty which began with the Revolution, the Church can, perhaps, afford to forgive the man who, accepting the inevitable, blessed the head of the Prince on whom he had previously poured his spiritual curses.

The reaction, however, of the Restoration presents a painful picture of the struggle of the Church to renew the havoc wrought by years of misrule and Manichean Calvinism.

There had been time for another generation—grown up in the sight and sound of pedant blasphemy and boastful contempt of primitive ordinances—to deny the value of Sacramental Grace and encourage indecency and disorder. The complicated proceedings of the Consistorial Court were futile in suppressing or punishing blatant vice: the owners of high estates in Devon and Cornwall set an example to their tenants in laxity of morals and violence of language and gesture, which became grossly contagious.

A pecuniary mulct condoned gross sensuality: the penalties of excommunication had no terrors preventive or deterrent for the richer class.

The recusants about Alphington, a flourishing suburb on the eastern side of Exeter, arranged a conventicle, which for months defied the attempts of the Bishop to dislodge and punish. Children were constantly unbaptized till the age of seven years, and then only brought under an order of the Court.

In the more remote parts of North Devon prosecutions for marriage with a brother's wife were frequently ignored until every conceivable power of distress had been brought to bear upon the refractory parties, who, as it appears, frequently evaded punishment by emigration to a different jurisdiction.

In other cases the law of the Church had become so extravagantly parental that in a parish near Exeter, in September, 1664, John Bawden, of Whitstone, and Mary Mole, of Ashcombe, were excommunicated "for being contracted and not married." The emphatic note of the clerk signifying no deviation from the inexorable penalty attached, in the words "*Stet.*"

The custom of private baptism also which had, as might

have been expected, largely prevailed during the last 20 years was perilous to the discipline of the Church. In one case at Kenton a man named William Hope brought numerous witnesses to prove that the child in question was sick and weak, and that he was a lawful minister who administered the sacred rite with due elements and words, but in vain.

The disastrous effects of pluralism and absenteeism among the clergy were seen in such cases as that of East Anstey, a village on the borders of Devon, where one Johns was Rector, preaching but once a month and living at Luckham, and riding over with his servants, while the parsonage was let for £30 and allowed to fall to pieces.

The gates, bars, and styles of the glebe land were old and decayed, and the house was not fit for a minister to reside in: the chancel and wall of a barn adjoining had been repaired by the lessee, but the outbuildings were unfit for human habitation.

The reign of Charles II. is famous for the severity with which every attempt to countenance Nonconformity in any phase or form was visited, the two declarations of indulgence in 1662 and 1672 being but trivial exceptions to the intense pressure of the Corporations, Conventicle, and Five Mile Acts.

That the rebellion had admitted into the parsonages and freeholds of the Church a large number of men who, neither by education nor connection, were fit for such responsibilities, abundant proof is forthcoming, and the dissatisfaction of the parishioners found vent in many ways.

This is illustrated in a case brought in the Consistorial Court by John Richards, of Helston, merchant; it contained 14 articles, briefly as follows:—(1.) Neglect of duty and absence from the parish on Sundays and week-days, obliging the parishioners to repair to other churches or provide other ministers. (3.) Parsonage in ruins; deportment and occupation unbecoming a clergyman; indecency of habit and

language and challenging to fight; vexatious and litigious conduct towards his parishioners, sueing them in the Court of Exchequer and issuing writs by his sons; trading and merchandizing with pilchards and other fish at St. Ives and keeping and employing seynes and boats in fishing to the great scandall of the ministeriall function; defaming the parishioners (9) May 15th. "Thou didst behave and demeane thyself in such a barbarous, franticke and unchristianlike manner, both in words and deeds, as did much misbecome and blemish a Christian, much more a minister, of the word of God: thou didst in a notorious and forcible way, making entry into a tenement called Nansloe, belonging to Mary Robinson, thy brother's relict, having leaped over a wall into the Court, break open the doors and windows thereof and didst then beat and strike thy sister."

The following letter shews with undeniable truth how strong the feelings of both parties ran in the various parts of the Diocese after the Civil Wars. It is addressed to Mr. Francis Cook, the Bishop's Registrar. The writer, Nicholas Becket, a well-known champion of the Royal cause, appears to have been much exercised in mind about the sequestration of Virginstow and to have had very bad success in securing his dues. After a good long grumble on this matter, he goes on: The Pyworthy old Edward doth stinke more and more. There is much talke up and downe the country of some dangerous words which he let fall the evening after he had received his most due check from my Lord. Mr. Joseline had an account of his words from ye Maior of Okehampton, and I presume that he hath ere now informed you of them, as I advised him.

The words as I remember were these: What a brave army we had when we marched downe into these parts under Fairfax. O that we had such an army now. The parsons present being much startled at this saying, and Binns perceiving it, he added these words, after a long pause—"to

serve the King." I am told that Mr. Athrington was then in his company, and that he said to him: Sir, I would wish when you speak of matters of so high concernment to put your words closer together. By this I perceive that his thoughts were upon a way of revenge upon the authority which is over him: blessed to God, and, the fire burning within him, some scum fell beside the pot. After this forcible and inelegant analogy, he changes the tone of his letter and vows all allegiance:—May you please to give my service to Mr. Chauncellor, my duty to my Lord, and to yourself the endeared respects of your most affectionate friend and servant.—Nich. Becket.

Thus the same uncompromising Royalist appears not only as a Church restorer, but a peace maker, by whom all obstacles were to be overcome through his exceedingly sanguine temperament. The Church of Aishwater had stood many years upon posts in a very bad condition, so he sends his honest Churchwarden, of whose name modesty forbad the mention, to shew how, since the blessed return of his Gracious Sovereign, they had been studying away to its reparation; but, as the workmen demanded £200, which they could not raise, the rates being so high through his Majesty's great necessity for money, he had asked the Bishop to grant him the favour of a public collection, when his Lordship returned from Oxford. Then he significantly adds: "The business of Mr. Henry Ham, of this parish, and his wife Grace, was referred by my Lord to Dr. Mervin, Mr. Hammond, and myselfe, and we have (through the blessing of God upon our endeavours) brought them together, and now they live very lovingly together here in Aishwater. November 20th, 1665.

A remarkably good impression of the Becket seal remains in this letter.

Perhaps there is no more ready or effective way of shewing the position and predilections of the clergy of the period than

in their own letters. Thus the autograph letter of one Nicholas Downe, written on the 9th day of 10ber, 1675, says that he had some weeks since been desiring the assistance of the Registrar to obtain his succession to Mr. Rowe in the parishe of Bridestowe. "The parish is still vacant," he adds, "and Mr. Drewe (I am informed) do seeke of a Curate. Therefore, I have presumed to renewe my requests and again to importune your helpe in the thing. Mr. Pindarvis, to whom as I have heard ye curacy of ye parish now voyd was offered, is a person of good quality and parentage, and so will not submitt to live a Curate. You knowe, sir, yt a wedge may not enter with one stroake and yet a second passage may be wrought."

There were also not a few who, having seen the cruel and unscrupulous treatment which their clergy received at the hands of the disaffected, made the only amends in their power by begging for the reinstatement of the Vicar. So in 1665 the inhabitants of the parish of Lynton testified that Mr. Nicholas Morrice had been their minister above 40 years, as also in the last unhappy times sequestrated and suffered much for his loyalty. This petition was signed by over 20 persons. With all the clergy, however, neither their own people nor their dignified brethren were well pleased, either on account of their manners in church or of their desire to obtain their just tithes. Mr. Drew, Rural Dean of Tavistock, had reason to present Mr. Peter Nicholl for a very old grievance, which the parish would most probably condone if not encourage. Replies he to the charge: As for my not wearing the surplice, I wear it most times, and if at any time I might have omitted it, 'tis not out of any obstinate or factious humour, but the cause sometime may be that the surplice is washing and cannot be dryed by reason of the unseasonableness of the weather! The following answer discloses a condition of things inside the sacred edifice not at all unusual at that time:—

As to the pavement of the Chauncell: there was never any, but it is a very firm earthen floore, but at that time somewhat out of order by reason of two corps being lately there buried.

The following plaintive appeal from the inhabitants of a somewhat remote village in Devon illustrates the terrible abuses which had made a breach well nigh irreparable in the successive work of the Church.

Whether or no Lewis Dennis, of Bradworthy, had shamefully blasphemed the reputation of William Lang we cannot tell, but certain is it that the parishioners felt so strongly on the matter that they presented to Sir Nathanael Brent knt the Bishop's Vicar-General that—

William Lang, Clerke Vicar of Bradworthy, was bred up without learning for such a calling, and had been for many years together imployed as a bayliff, and, being faulty for forging warrants, shifted himself into Ireland fearing punishment, where he got orders to be a minister, as he pretended. And thereupon, with the assistance of one Andrewe Cory, gent., did conclude with one Mr. Yeo, who then followed Sir ffrancis Bacon, the then Lord Keeper, and gave bond to pay to the sd. Yeo £150 for the procureing of the Vicaridge of Bradworthy, the then Incumbent, Mr. Twiggs, being a very aged man. The sd. Lange and Yeo, useing the help of one Mr. Archey, then servant to our late Soveraigne, Lord King James, obtayned of his sd. Majestie a graunt of the Vicaridge and Church of Bradworthy with the Chapple of Pancrasweeke, and £30 was given to Archey and other summes of money to others his assistance therein as hath been proved. And it hath been and is still credibly reported that Lang, being a man not well quallified, procured another, being a Mr. of Arts to be examined for and in his name, and thereupon obtained the vicaridge aforesd. The articles exhibited also shew that Lang is very offensive and scandalous to his function, &c.

Indeed his behaviour was so bad that, in the terms of the schedule of articles, the Justices of the Peace have at there generall Sessions committed him to prison, and after bound him to his good behaviour for seaven yeares, and, by their certificite unto the late Archbp. of Canterbury, shewed his unfitness and misdemeanors, notwithstanding of which he continues in his former courses not applying himself to his study, but often absenting himself from his charge, leaveing them destitute and solliciting suites of lawe.

In tender compassion of your charitable assistance unto many hundred inhabitants within the said parish forlorn and destitute of spirituall comfort and instruction, and, pressed downe with the unjust vexations of a tyranous Pastour, humbly commend their miserable and deplorable estate to your gratious consideration and reformation.

In the Articles of defence filed by Lang he emphatically resents the vile and utterly unjustifiable charges brought against him, and declares that his character *apud et inter bonos et graves vicinos suos ac alios ejus meliorem noticiam habentes laeditur et gravatur.*

In some instances of clerical irregularity the promise of amendment persuaded the parishioners that they might do worse for their own high spiritual comfort than receive their erring pastor back, as in the following instance, where the derelictions of duty and sins of commission had been notorious.

To the Right Rev. Father in God, Joseph, Lord Bishopp of Exon.

Right Reverend.—May it please you to be advertised by us, whose names are under written, that, whereas the bearer thereof, William Warmington, Curate of our parish, of Yearnscombe, hath been lately suspended by your Lordship from his ministrie, wee, upon his humble submission and faithful promise of reformation, are pleased again to be

reconciled, and doe humblye beseech your good Lordshipp that he may be admited againe into Sacred Orders.

In doeing whereof your Lordshipp shall please God, and wee will ever pray unto God for your Lordshipp's preservation.

Hugh Trevelyan.	George Rowcliffe.
John Baylie.	James Wellington.
Bartholomew Glasse.	Thomas Sparke his marke.
Lewes Smale.	John Slee.
John Bellewe.	William Campin.
John Hallse.	

It may well be hoped that an equal reformation took place in the manners of the Rev. William Salmon, Vicar of St. Breward in 1678, for the excesses in which he had unfortunately indulged were in no way remedied by a systematic or regular performance of Divine service. Indeed, it was highly improbable that if the Vicar was found grovelling in the ground in the highway on the last day of December, that he would be able to officiate on New Year's Day either in the morning or the afternoon, and indeed, when the son of Mr. John Burrough was brought to him to be baptized, he, in his intemperance, used the words applicable to a female child, and omitted a great part of the service of that Sacrament and could not hold his book.

On the 5th of November in this same year he was abiding in the alehouses the greater part of that day, and was found by his flock in the most disgraceful condition of unutterable filth.

As for his language, he had frequently bespattered and abused Reginald Cocke, Esq., gent., with disgraceful terms and language, and called his people reprobates and other opprobrious names. On Sunday, April the 25th, he had uttered many light and unjustifiable speeches, especially when, in his sermon on that day, he said: I'll warrant you that David did winn more proselytes than God; and again, on

May 16th, he being, in his sermon, discoursing how God sent Ezekiel to the children of Israel and of his ill usage by them, took occasion from them to make reflection on his own congregation in the words following: And I, poor man, am sent to an impudent stiff-necked people; which, adds the writer of the articles against Mr. Salmon, were to the great griefe and discontent of his poore hearers and the manifold contempt and prejudice of his owne person and doctrine.

The last article, in all probability, gives a clue to the real cause of ill-feeling between Vicar Salmon and his flock. Unable to obtain his just dues by gentle means, he had been compelled to have the assistance of the law, and, though no troops were sent to assist the auctioneer in carrying out a forced and utterly useless sale, the parson had to go to the County Court to recover his tithes, one Anne Simmons, a widow, being the most obstinate of the malcontents.

If there was any truth in the charge in another article, there was indeed grievous cause for complaint to the Bishop.

It was said that, after payment of the customary duty by women at their public thanksgiving, he had again required, allowed and exacted the same out of their husbands labour and wages, and particularly of John Paule and Richard Symons.

In 1665 the parish of St. Anthony pleaded guilty to a large number of well-to-do persons, such as Anthony Furlong, the Deebles, Popplestones, Reepes, and Mr. Robert Welshman, who never came to church or baptized their children, but this may in part be attributable to the sad example set them by their parson, whom W. Bidlake, Esq., one of the churchwardens, describes as "a frequenter of alehouses, a brawler and a fighter, and a challenger of the field for duells, a swearer, and for permitting and turning in his cattle into the churchyard there and suffering them there for the most part to abide." Then, adds he, as a quasi comment of lamentable despair: "And more I cannot present."

Happily, the proportion of clergy thus behaved was extremely small, but if their delinquencies were less extravagant and shocking, the indifference and laziness of many is undeniable. The account which the Rector of Inwardleigh sent to the Bishop in June, 1670, when he had read to the clergy of the Deanery in the Chapel of Okehampton the Archbishop's letter, was not encouraging: "I did not omitt to congratulate unto them the prudence and pious care of our Soverain Ld. the King, his Parleamt. and worthy Prelates for the rooting out of faction and schismes, and for the settlement of peace in the Church and uniformity in the worship and service of God, and exhorting them to thankfulnesse for such mercyes and to a chearfull obedience to such superiours;" but some, he apologetically adds, were sick and some far from home. "On June 3rd, Dr. Eaton and I, in the Church of Bitheford—all parsons, vicars and curates of the Deanery of Hartland being duly summon'd—duly executed our commission." Of this a fuller account would follow, and he concludes his letter by craving pardon for impertinencies and "wishing your Lordshipp all encrease of Honor and happinesse."

The effect of such authoritative utterances had but little effect upon the laity. The clergy, at least in the West (as we have seen) dared not and were helpless to stem the tide of impatient indignation and resentment caused by the execution of repeated penalties for absence from church, the Lord's Supper and the other ordinances of religion.

It mattered nothing to many whether the preacher or the pretended minister had actually received Episcopal ordination. Again, at Honiton was the voice of the unfortunate schoolmaster, Ambrose Cleake, lifted up to protest against one William Knight, whom our Phanaticks (being one of the same straine) would have teach schoole. And our Prisbiter parson spake for him, "being troubled that he must read prayers

Wednesdayes and fridayes." During the vacancy of the Archbishoprick (Gilbert Sheldon died in 1676) they had actually obtained a licence for him.

But the case of Honiton was no worse than that of a N. Devon parish, of which William Price, the Vicar of Sampford Courtenay, writes September 16th, 1675: There is a certaine fellow of an uncertaine profession, between a parson and a Taylor, by ye name of Abraham Heathfield, who hath with small discretion and as great impudence endeavoured to impose upon my Lord's judgment by a forged seale: him I understand that you are inquiring after, and I have promised Mr. Atherton to give you notice that he resides in Bundleigh and hath don for some time. It is a parish that makes bold to joyn to my parish, but it is but in a private nooke where it meets with ye bounds of another small parish, as yf it can on purpose to peep over ye hedge in to see Sampford Courtenay.

But there let it lye; however, *Dato loco, persona reperitur*, without any proposition in Euclid. If you have a mind to preferre him, set him upon ye top of a Table, and try how well he can divide a Text with a payre of Sheers and stitch it together againe with a hot needle and burning thread. This is all that I have to say, and more than was needful besides ye name of ye person and ye place.

Whether this dangerous person was actually caught and paid the penalty for forging the Episcopal Seal is not known, but in 1676 a man of his calibre, though not guilty of such a crime, was handed over by the Bishop of Exeter for preaching twice in Crediton Church on Sunday, June 17th, not being thereunto licensed by the Archbishop, myselfe or any other lawful person, nor having before myself, the Archbishop, nor any other lawful person read the 39 Articles of Religion mentioned in the Statute of xiiith yeare of the late Queen Elizabeth with declaration of his unfayned assent to the same.

George Hill was, therefore, as a disabled person within the

intention of the Act, left to the Justices of the Peace of the County or to any two of them to be dealt with withall as in and by the said Act is ordained and provided.

It was not possible either for noblemen to ignore at this time the orders of the Established Church or to carry with them out of the bounds of the Diocese even a physician and chaplain without leave of absence. So sharply were the clergy looked after that when Dr. Robert Lawe, Rector of North Lewe, attended Sir William Courtenay to Ireland, in 1674-5, and no licence for non-residence had been obtained, though he had supplied an efficient *locum tenens*, he was in danger of a citation, and Lewis Stevings, an official of much experience in the survey of the Episcopal and Capitular estates, wrote from Newcastle, in the County of Limerick, begging forgiveness for his absence and adding a piece of history, which cannot be omitted: "How it was a very sickly time in this county and in the County of Cork, the Griping of the Gutt and the small-pox Raine very much and very mortall; the Country people are very poore for the most parte, they having lost their Estates unto the English Souldyers and adventurers' hands, and there was a great mortallity of cattell and sheepe and a scarcity of Corn the last harvest."

But a matter which is so nearly connected with the politics of that day would be here out of place were it not necessary to emphasize the well-allowed fact that the clergy of those days were mentally and helplessly vigorous political partisans. Simon Parsons, who was Vicar of Sidbury, had much trouble about his tithes of apples, wool and eggs, but that was as nothing compared to the hardship of which he complained when having been debarred by his great bodily disease from taking any part in the election of a Knight of the Shire, he had been slandered and misrepresented to his Immediate Ordinary, the Dean, and his Mediate Ordinary, the Bishop, "as a man not well affected to the present Government both in

Church and State and as making a party in his parish for Mr. Reynell." A tenant of Sir Courtenay Poole's, at Stone, had told him of Sir Courtenay's desire that he, the Vicar, should promote the election of Mr. Fortescue—a gentleman utterly unknown to him. In open discussion, the Vicar had only said that he had heard Mr. Reynell reported a man of Anti-Hierarchical and Anti-Monarchical principles. He emphatically denied that these were his own views.

Nevertheless, a spirit of disaffection and even of resentment existed among the clergy to the claims of their dignified brethren in many matters of reference and payment. Insubordination to authority was the besetting trouble of the age, and when the clergy were, in their impoverished condition, called upon to contribute to the statutable claims of their superior officers of the Church, there was much soreness felt. This was seen in the Visitation of Bishop Hall in 1628, and is again visible after the Restoration, as when Mr. Degory Polwhele, writing from Whitchurch in 1665, excuses himself from being present at the Visitation at Plymouth, as he is taking his journey into Somersetshire and carefully packs up the following hint as to his exemption from payment of fees between the former excuse and a humble apology:—"I am to paye noe procuration money this year as being Dean Rurall."

In so saying Mr. Polwhele did but represent other brethren who felt and spoke much more forcibly on this point and caused Mr. Taylor, of Barum, great searchings of heart, while, at the same time his mind, was sorely exercised by the appearance of a redoubtable champion of women's rights in the person of Lady Stukeley.

I would beg yor Advice in a small busines, wherein his Lordship is concern'd as well as my selfe. There are 2 or 3 persons in this Archdeaconry who refuse to pay Synodalls as well as Procuracions upon ye account of their being Deane ruralls; now our custome is to excuse them from Procuracions

but not from Sinodals. Mr. Somers, of Marwood, is one of them who tells me if I sue him for them, hee will pay downe the money in Court: but withall hee will indict his Lordshp for extorsion, supposinge (because we have no Synod) yt there are no Synodalls due.

He then asks the Registrar's advice, and adds that he is resolved for all Mr. Sommers' threatenings to send for a process for them all.

Just two months afterwards, in August, 1675, Taylor writes again in a highly pugnacious and jubilant spirit to say how much satisfaction Mr. Cooke's (the Registrar's) letter had given him, but that he had himself 'accidentally mett with Stephens learned Tract De Procurat. et Synod. Who makes it appeare yt Synodals are due to ye Bishop, whether there be any Synod or no: and have been paid for many hundred yeares *in argumentum Subjectionis et ob honorem Cathedræ*, and are now become part of ye Bishop's setled Revenue, for which hee paies annuall tenths to ye King; and ye payment of these Synodalls yearly is become a perpetual charge annexed to every benefice, for the Recovery whereof (in case of Refusall) a sufficient Provision is made by an Act of Parlt. in ye 34th yeare of Hen: 8: cap. 19, which will be very good plea against Mr. Dean-rurall Somers at the Assizes, who is still very stiff and obstinate, and so is his Brother Chaplaine, Jonathan Pickard, both refusing to pay Synodals. Somers now, upon a better consideracion, turnes his weapon against mee, and thinks it more safe to indict mee rather than his Lordship and declares hee is resolved to doe it'; but, as Taylor mercifully suggests, it will be best to give them one more month before process is issued, devoutly adding: "not doubtinge but my Lord will stand by mee and defend his owne right." Whether the matter was settled by a compromise I have not as yet been able to discover, but that other clergy in the neighbourhood were still of the same recalcitrant mind ten years after is clear from the records

of the action brought by Dr. Fullwood, Archdeacon of Totnes, against Mr. Gideon Edmonds, Rector of Milton Damerel and Cookebury, 9s. 1d. being due for the former and 7d. for the latter, which, for the last 10 or 12 years, were always paid. Indeed, they had been paid as Procurations and Synodals for above 60 years, and frequently after that time to the Great Rebellion and from and after the happy Restauration of his late Majesty they were "paid home" without any sample or objection from the clergy of the Deaneries of Okehampton and Holsworthy, who constantly appeared and submitted thereunto, as this Mr. Edmonds had done, he always paying and, as Rector of Milton Damerell, preaching one or two Visitation sermons. So swore Philip Atherton, gentleman, native of Burlescombe, 69 years old, Notary public and Register (!) of the Archdeaconry of Totnes.

Orders for and certificates of penance both in the vestry before the Vicar and Churchwardens and in the Church for breaches of the seventh number of the decalogue, and ante-nuptial concubinage occupy a large space in the records of the Episcopal Courts, but there, as in other instances, a pecuniary fine was forthcoming; the process was short and the exposure nil.

But the less serious, though undoubtedly as remarkable, incident which occurred on the occasion of this important Court of the Bishop at South Molton was the appearance of a Churchwarden of the gentler sex in the person of Lady Stukeley who (by the way, she had only recently received from the Dean and Chapter the sum of 40s. ex graciâ, possibly for some similarly bold stroke), "came early in ye morninge to mee and Mr. Griffin and told us shee was chosen Warden for West Worlington, and that there were severall things out of order about ye church, neglected by former wardens, wch. she was resolved to rectifye this yeare, to yt. end she had brought a person along with her, who she told us was a very honest

man and her desyre was yt. hee should be sworne as her Deputy, but she herself would direct him in his office and take care that all things should bee done accordinge to ye Articles. Whereupon wee easily gave creditt to a person of her quality, and thought ourselves bound in point of civility to gratifye her Ladiship soe far as to despatch her in the morning before we went to Church, she having some urgent Occasions wch. would not permitt any longer stay and the man being to goe along with her, and truly I do not remember yt. any other person was nominated at ye Court yt. day as is pretended."

But on second thoughts, the subservient official who had so much respect for early rising, quality and importunate Ladyships was bound to confess "that the next Court after there was some Information given concerninge the Election, as to some animosity betwixt my Lady Stukeley and the Gentleman" who had called on the Bishop with his tale *spretæ formæ*, and he thought that at the next Court to be held in a month's time it would be best to call all the parties and inquire where the fault lay. He himself was about to make good his escape to Cambridge and might or might not return in time.

The customs of West Worlington were in another respect worthy of notice and recollection, if we may judge by the impression made upon the mind of one Thomas Drake, a labourer of three-score years and five, who, when the question of Church rates was mooted in 1685, declared that he remembered how West Worlington Bridge was built about 50 years ago by order of the Bishop and the then Earl of Bath for the southern part of the parish, to bring their dead and come that way to church, as it hath been delivered down of tradition and for no other purpose, there being no way over it either to market or mill, and also how about 50 years since the minister and parishioners in a public procession went to this bridge, and the minister and Mr. Ferdinando Carpenter read an order from the Bishop and Earl of Bath made upon some

difference between the north and south side of the parish, in which, among other things, it was agreed that this bridge should always be repaired by the churchwardens out of the Church rate (of which there were then 48 collected at 12s. 8d. apiece), and after the reading of the same the minister or one of the old farmers of the parish pinched him by the ear and bid him as a youngster take notice of the same.

In 1683 was a very hard winter, and the bridge was destroyed by reason of the great floods and totally carried away, so that the south part of the parish could neither go to church nor bury their dead.

The superlative charity and tolerance of the Puritan Commonwealth was adequately illustrated in their treatment of Fox who was tried at Launceston Assizes in 1656 for distributing tracts at St. Ives and whose crime was aggravated by his refusal to remove his hat. These tracts, however, were the seeds which cropped up with plenteous flowers and fruit in many parts of the Diocese and furnish us with one sad and pathetic story of a family of the same persuasion who lived at Yealmpton in 1668.

A difference arose as to the bequests made by one Agnes Browne, whose husband, Richard, was an uncompromising heretic and had brought up their only daughter, Partesia, in the Quaker principles. The Vicar, Daniel Moore, knew that the whole household was very much disaffected to the present government of the Church of England and was of schismatic and different persuasion and judgment from the Church. The mother had not been seen in her parish church for six years before her death, nor had she received the Holy Communion, though many had seen her go as far as Plymouth. The house was at the most one mile from her church, Plymouth six. She had been all these years excommunicated, having been so pronounced by the order of the Archdeacon of Totnes, by the Vicar, in a full congregation. So after her death her body

was buried in an unconsecrated place, which was formerly part of the highway, and now was near the highway, at a very great distance from the Church, without divine service, "not, in the opinion of certain of her friends, "as a Christian ought to be." Within the last three or four years the father had written to the Vicar saying that "all the Ceremonies of the Church of England as they now are established by law are a mere Idolatrous heap of confusions and that whosoever did pay tythes to any priest but to Christ Jesus did deny Christ." The Vicar when questioned as to why he did not more often celebrate the Holy Communion, replied that "he would doe it more than 2 or 3 tymes in a year if hee had communicants to receive the sacrament."

The poor girl Partesia when asked as to what she had sworn when before the Commission held at Mr. Tuckett's house, said she did not know what an oath was, and "as to what I did swear in the Church," said she, "at my examination I did put my hand to the book and did kiss the book, but what meaning was that?" Thomas Payne, a notary public of Plymouth, had cross-examined her and she did not know the nature or danger of perjury.

This sin was graphically described by one witness as a great and grievous sin that highly offended the majesty of Almighty God, and its penalty as utter damnation of body and soul in hell and in this world the loss of one or both ears.

One significant habit of persons of this persuasion was very popular at Tedburn S. Mary in 1662, for the churchwarden then and there declares in his presentments, "8ly I doe present that for wearing of hats in the church, they do all in general except some: they have not yet given it over."

A strong settlement of the same persuasion distressed the Vicar of S. Stephens-by-Ash in 1665, for at the visitation of Seth Ward the first presentation was as to Roger Porter (gent.), Elizabeth, his wife, and a dozen other persons who refused to

come to church and "held and professed the damnable opinions of those persons who can only go under ye name of Quaykers."

To the first seven articles of enquiry in this parish Mr. Robert Beele could reply *omne bene*, but after enumerating the above schismatics he refers to another "none-conformist" sect in the following singular terms:

"Concerning Praisebeters! and others that does not come to our Church.

Robert Corbine, and Thomasine his wife
Wm. Damarous Gouldston
Johan Reepe wid."

The greatest part of the parish did neither receive the Sacrament nor observe holidays.

The same trouble was rife at Stokeclimsland, all the family of Hawkins, Clarke, Grub and Badcock being Quakers. At Hatherleigh also there must have been a large contingent if we may judge from the conduct of the Seldons who were in 1690 successful in creating a burial scandal, but in the person of Jasper Seldon had gained the goodwill of John Cary, the previous Vicar in 1671, for he gave up the undesirable and irreverent habit of wearing his hat in the Church and promised conformity for the time to come. He had been presented and must needs ride to Exeter or be convicted of contumacy, but being sickly, the kind offices of his Vicar prevailed.

Whether Mr. Williams was of the same uncharitable mind as Thomas, Vicar of Pynnock, in 1675, who spoke of his parishioners "as boores full of Bacon and baseness" we have no means of judging, but certain it is that when Joseph Seldon died in 1691 Samuel and the widow sent to say that she wished her husband to be buried the next day between 3 and 4 p.m., the Vicar replied that it was not a convenient time and that he would bury the corpse either at 7 a.m. or 7 p.m. This did not suit the ideas of the mourners, who brought the body in the afternoon and when admission could not be obtained to

the church nor the bell tolled, were obliged to lay the corpse in the grave without any service, Samuel ordering his own servant to shovel some earth into the grave, he himself saying these touching words: "Lye there, brother, till I come unto thee," or "It wont be long before I come unto thee." But mark you his own declaration: "These words he spake seriously and affectionately, without any intencion or desire of ridiculing or despising ye Common Prayer or funerall service appoynted in ye Church of England.

But the mourners did then go to Hatherleigh where a sermon was bespoke to be preached by Mr. Chapman at ye meeting house."

There can be no doubt from further evidence that the Vicar was acting strictly within his rights in refusing admission to the Church and advising an hour when no concourse of people would be there. The deceased had died of a malignant fever or of small-pox, and the remains were in a terrible state of decomposition, offensive matter leaking from the coffin and the stench being unsufferable. The mortality in the neighbourhood had been great.

Possibly the attribute "refractory" might with justice have been applied to the Seldons as it was by the chief men of Penzance, in 1686, to some parishioners who, when describing the model and scheme which they had prepared for the better arrangement of the seats in S. Mary's Chapel and the payment of the minister, complain that they have in their town a great many being able to pay but not willing. This much distressed the minds of John Tremenheere, Richard Ustick, Ben. Penhalloe, Richard Cunnack and others in authority. But things had reached a further pass at Southmolton, whence Thomas Warner writes in sad distress his opinion, namely, that "this place is above measure disorderly in nonconformity. The Anabaptists lately brought a youth of Mr. George Badcockes to be buried and when according to the order of the

Church I would have received in the corps they brought it violently upon me, one Stoneman of Northmolton had almost shouldered me down and brake the book out of my hand. Another of them that brought the corps is an Anabaptist preacher in the towne one Christopher Pitford. Several others have brought their dead and buried them contrarye to the orders of the Church. I live a very sad life in the place. I have no remedie against their rebellious affronts to the government of the Church. Pray present (he appeals to the Registrar) my condition and my most humble respects to his Lordship. I was a truly loved friend of Bp. Taylor."

Again, writing in July, 1675, he describes the whole country round as being like the town of Southmolton, full of schismatical refractory persons, and advises that the King's laws be put in strict force against conventicles. The Dean had promised to get him removed to a more easy charge, "for," pleads he, "I am an old man."

It was indeed but six years before that the Archbishop of Canterbury had written to his suffragans (June 8, 1669) saying how much evil was caused by these meetings, and how grieved His Majesty was at being supposed to connive at their propagation. In his letter to the Bishop of Exeter, the Primate emphasizes the responsibility of all the officials of the Church, and if these dissenters cannot be hindered by his advice, advises them to appeal to the nearest Justice of the Peace and if he decline to act, then to certify his neglect.

The Archbishop thought that after all their numbers were only apparently great, most of them being "women and children and inconsiderable persons." This optimistic view of religious affairs was unfortunately not authenticated by facts. The parochial clergy knew better. Aylesbeare was another village where Anabaptists flourished unabashed in 1668, and from the borders of Exmoor and the river Axe on the eastern to the utmost town of Cornwall on the western end, as inland

in the villages, so on seaside in the towns, as the still existing records at Exeter shew, there was rooted disaffection to the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church. Disorder and discontent were paramount.

The more serious obligations involved in the proper exercise of Church discipline in accordance with the old Canon law of the land placed both parsons and laity in an exceedingly difficult position. Amongst the most energetic correspondents of the Episcopal Registrar, Mr. Francis Cooke, after the Restoration, was Francis Nation, Vicar of Parkham, who discovered an enormous nest of nonconforming evildoers, according to his own autograph account, in his parish. The sequel to one of his complaints was highly incongruous. A certain Gyles Glover, who had incurred a process in the Bishop's Court, confided in Mr. Nation that he would suffer death rather than do penance public or private, and inasmuch as he was "a stout man and good parishioner" his parson was troubled as to what course to take. Did his late Majesty's acts of grace and pardon extend to matters of this nature? If compurgators were required and penance was obligatory, it implied confession, and this he "abhors." The credit of the Trainsoldiers depended on this Gyles obtaining a Quietus. The Court apparently admitted this plea, and when Gyles appeared to answer to the citation the last act of pardon granted by King James set him free. Such an administration of Church law was not however usual, if the Office Book may be believed, for the compromise was extremely expensive and unscrupulously exact.

Did John Ganniclift open his shop windows on Christmas Day in the parish of S. Thomas the Apostle or John Chappell do a day's work on the same high feast? Each of these recalcitrant sons of the Church rendered themselves amenable to the Bishop's notice of excommunication. On January 23, 1662, Elizabeth Morrice pleaded guilty to a lamentable fall

from chastity and was enjoined public penance in her parish church: nor did Richard Adams, merchant of the City of Exeter, escape the penalties of his share in this great and grievous offence against the majesty of Almighty God, for in the solemn language of the indictment all such misdemeanors were nothing less.

It is indeed difficult in these days to understand how so great a power for good could have lost all inherent efficacy. Where Mr. Christopher Batson, Rector of Chulmley, could be cited for suffering his parsonage to fall to ruin was it not reasonable that Squire Humfry Prideaux should also pay heavily for his demoralising example at Topsham? When Hugh Horwood, of Bishops Tawton, married his brother's wife, was it just that he should escape the consequences of his incestuous crime? Twenty pounds was in those days no small sum to pay for commutation of a penalty enforced by the Bishop as the spiritual guardian of the flock throughout the diocese, and this Mr. Henry Wharton and other easygoing so-called gentlemen paid into court rather than submit to the penitential obloquy enjoined by his lordship.

Nor was it surprising that general laxity prevailed widely amongst the laity also with respect to a careful and complete compliance with the orders and teaching of the Church. The Courts, however, treated both priest and people with impartiality, and this is undoubtedly proved by the records of such Courts. Take for example the rubrics as to Holy Baptism. South Brent furnishes us with an incident of appropriate nature.

10/ 15/ 71.

"These are to certifie all whome it may Concern that William Veal of this parish, according to an order of the Court Ecclesiastical, did this day bring his child unto the Church & there before the Congregation made it appear by witnesses that the child was Lawfully & sufficiently baptized: Whereupon the

said child was admitted and received into the congregation of Xts flock after the manner prescribed by the Church of England in her Rubricks

per me Joh : Gandy dd. Vicar of S. Brent.

A similar case occurs of compliance with the order of the Courts when James Watson writes that "on the feast of the Epiphany, 6 January, 1669, Roger Burgesse, of Apledore, in the parish of Northam, brought his child into the church with sureyties for the same and being certified by his answers of the baptism of the child in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost with water upon the promise of the said sureties it was received into the congregation in the time of Divine Service the greater part of the congregation then being present."

There were, however, solitary and fortunate exceptions and signs sometimes of repentance. Thus writes George Drake, Vicar of Sampford, on February 12th : "A young man of my parish having lately marryed an Anabaptist of the neighbourhood, she has already sent to desire Baptism. It cannot be expected any of her Relations, who are stiff in that opinion, should give the Bishop notice of her good purpose and you can best judge whether it be proper to trouble his Lordship therewith at this time. You'll give me a line whether I may increase the numbers of our communions without offence having already Baptized 12 or 14 Quakers and Anabaptists "

The condition of such a parish as Broadhembury or of Ottery S. Mary might well alarm the authorities. One Collins at the latter place received the support of educated men of position in his objection to restoring the church bells and in his attendance at the conventicle of the town, Messrs. Vaughan and Ledgingham both paying all costs of his defence. Indeed on the confession of the wardens in 1668 not only were the chancel and library of that inimitable church unrepaired, but the names of those who would not come to the Holy Communion were so

many that "we knew them not," say the wardens. "The observation of holey daies is generally neglected for wanting of a minister, there is no catechising of the children : the Vicker's house is in decay."

Six years before there may have been some excuse if at Ashton there was no minister, no surplice and but one recusant, Richard Dell, but though at Broadhembury there were 14 persons determinately opposed to the established religion, it is not more lamentable than the state of the people in a much smaller parish, Halberton, where Simon Hussie would neither have his child baptized nor allow his wife to give thanks for safe deliverance. Richard Jacob followed his pernicious example, and Philip Phenimore would not suffer his wife to be buried according to the orders of the Church.

Whether all these unruly people were followers of Fox there is no other evidence to shew, but whether it were from contempt for Church order or ignorance of the Table of Prohibited Degrees, which in so many churches had never been supplied or had been relegated to some dark corner, it is certain that painful breaches of the laws of God took place within the degrees of affinity and Mr. Watson, whose ever watchful eye gleamed like a search light on the north coast of Devon into the dark doings of his people, detected not merely the obstinate and unpenitential conduct of Thomas Gribble, junr., and of William Courtis and desired a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* to bring them to compliance but found himself face to face with a dilemma in the person of an excommunicated Quaker who "had taken to wife I cannot say," he remarks, "nor does I believe lawfully marryed his niece, that is his first wife's sister's daughter. I conceave within the degrees of marriage prohibited." Pray advise me, he writes to the Bishop, what I shall doe in this matter and how I prosecute him and separate them.

This, unfortunately, was not an exceptional case. If only

the generality of the people had acquiesced in the opinion of Philip Chappell, minister of God's word in Bulkworthy, who in certifying the marriage of William Westlacke, of Kilcanhaim, in Cornwall, and Elizabeth Tayldor, wrote to all whom it might concern that these two had been united "in the estate of Most High and Holy Matrimony," many such sad complaints as the following would never have been written :

"To the Right Rev. Father in God Almighty, Anthony, Lord Bpp. of Exon., I, John Catcher, of S. Clement's, in the County of Cornewall, gent., doe informe yr. Lordshipp that John Spry, of Merther, Co. aforesaid, Clerke, did upon 29th of July last past or thereabout clandestinely join togeather in marriage William Catcher, my eldest sonne, and Amy Cruffe, daughter of William Cruffe, of S. Kewe, gent., without my knowledge or consent to my very greate griefe and to the scandale of religion, it being without licence or publication of bannes, the said marriage being solemnized in an Alehouse within the parish of Probus. And the said John Spry hath been guilty of many misdemeanours in the like nature and also is a reputed drunkard. Aug. 29, 1668"

In January of the same year Richard Buckley, of Netherex, clerk, was obliged to acknowledge that he had lately married without banns or licence, "since last he had been questioned for the same fault" (so that clearly he was an incorrigible matrimonial agent), Philip Reynolds and Mary Hitt, of Whimple, Davy Parett and Elizabeth Flud, of Exeter, Robert Sillacke and Mary his wife, of Exon., and "believeth that he hath married others without the publishing of banns or licence but doth not remember their names." Four years afterwards one Esdras Williams, who wrote from Dartmouth in an excellent minuscular hand, declares that being this day, Feb. 8, "summoned for a transgression against the Cannon for marrying without banns or licence; he is sensible of his errors and that this being his first transgression he prays that

it may be remitted, and 'upon the faithfulness of a cleargy man I never will offend anymore.' It is a miscarriage, he goes on to say. Probably his duties in his school will prevent his coming in person to the Court. Any fee he received he will gladly return."

What became of these irregular persons we know not, but when we reflect that it was not till many years afterwards that the Lords Commissioners issued their report—in 1686—based on the reports of the King's Advocate and Proctor relating to the many thousands of clandestine marriages under cover of pretended exemptions in the parish of Trinity Minories, S. James', Duke's Place and S Botolph, Aldgate, and shewing what ruin had arisen thereby, we cannot be surprised that an immense laxity of discipline existed as to the matrimonial contracts made by laymen with the consent or connivance of the clergy throughout this remote and distant diocese.

James Watson was always a stickler for strict propriety and legality in all the ordinances of religion, and thus expresses himself as to two persons in his parish for whom he desired a licence: "A Bond is needless as the Best security may be needed from others: the partyes, Thomas Pruste, mariner, and Sarah Hains, spinster, are not only free from the claymes of any others but joine hands also with the free consent of all Relations on both sides."

Doubtless he had some knowledge of the extraordinary number of actions for breach of promise, slander and defamation which blocked the courts. So also Thomas Tanner, Vicar of Colyton, when he wrote for a licence for the marriage of Mr. Gerard Evans, a gentleman of Hampshire, and Mrs. Ann Odber, a lady of Dorsetshire, who (as he quaintly expresses himself) "were in a league about matrimony," assures the Registrar that they are free to dispose of their own persons, without advice yet there is a full consent on the part of the Relations and friends some of which are ready to sign a bond, as is accustomed.

Secrecy, however, was desirable, a postscript hinting that it were better for the messenger not to know what instrument he bringeth under seal. Such contracts *sub rosâ* were only too common.

In some instances there was, no doubt, a strong comic element in the whole transaction, especially if the contracting parties were somewhat mystified by the necessary legal securities. So Mr. Luck, whoever he may have been, saw some amusement in the fancies of one Daniel Rose and Damaris Tucker, who came from Great Torrington to Barnstaple to get married. "Such senseless oafs love Bonds: let 'em not want one this time unless you can save yourself a shilling by sending a License without. I beg you not to fail honest Daniel and pretty Damaris who ride so many dirty miles to be noos'd."

Barum, September 21, 1707.

It may be as well here to note the easy-going notions which some of the clergy were not ashamed to own on this matter. John Prince, Rector of Berry Pomeroy, though a surrogate, had on his own confession lately granted a licence to two of his parish, whose names are Lang, that are within the prohibited degrees of kindred: she is the young fellow's father's own brother's widow. "How agreeable it is with the Canon to grant licences to such poor mean people, you best know," he adds to the Registrar somewhat abruptly. "Herein now you are informed of the matter!"

Whether or no the following confession was ever actually read by Joseph Beckett in Marldon Church is uncertain, but the story and the apology may serve as a valuable illustration of one of the most shocking and habitual abuses which even up to more recent times blot the history of the domestic life of the English Church.

Henry Holdsworth, a gentleman of some credit and renown in the beautiful and busy seaport at the mouth of the Dart, was evidently considerably exercised as to the legality of the

marriage of William Muggworth and Alice his wife, who had taken oath before the Mayor in relation to their marriage by Joseph Beckett, of Marldon. Under colour of this marriage they had cohabited together ever since. Was it true that it was necessary for these parties to make oath of the marriage before the Court could proceed against Beckett for usurping the office of a clergyman by presuming to marry?

Marriage by a layman, if well proved, is allowed good in law. This is the dictum of Mr. Holdsworth; "but," he adds, "I should be glad to know whether ye Oaths of ye Parties will be Esteemed sufficient Proof."

Such a condition of things was utterly subversive of discipline and morals.

At this date, indeed long after this time, extremely lax views prevailed as to the necessity of the marriage service being performed by a properly ordained minister, in a church, by banns or licence, at a canonical hour. The main essential for matrimony was, in the eyes of the people, mutual consent, consent of parents, a pledge such as a broken groat, a pair of gloves, even a napkin or a basket of pears, rarely a ring, and the use of the words of betrothal in the former part of our present Form of Solemnization of Matrimony.

Thus when John Cox had after much persecution obtained the consent of the parents of Mary Farrant, of Shute, and they had been betrothed either to other, the bridegroom in an ecstasy of satisfaction at the completion of the office, which was entirely of a domestic order, exclaimed: "Now you are my own: We are man and wife before God: We have nothing to doe but two or three words of the Parson to make it known to the world." Such facts furnish the best proof of the statement, here so fully corroborated, that the general impressions as to the sanctity of marriage and the need of God's blessing on the union were (and alas are even now too often) terribly indefinite.

Thomas Orchard, curate of Broadwoodwidger as curate of

S. Stephens-by-Launceston in 1674, and Edward Chapman, as curate of Dawlish, both forfeited their licenses about the year 1674 for marrying parties without banns or licence two hours before dawn, as the language of the process has it, "a most unseasonable time."

But there is a prophetic hint in the inquiry so delicately made in the last sentence of Mr. Holdsworth's letter from Dartmouth, shewing that even at that period there were medical men who did not hesitate to advocate the principles of the vegetarian and total abstainer. After lamenting the disastrous effects of the storms on the vintages of Burgundy and Champagne, the writer ventures to say that he "should be very glad to hear of the good effect of Dr. Cheynie's Prescription, that your abstinence from Wine and flesh has had its desired end by Removing or at least much abating your Disorder."

Whether the Chancellor of the Diocese (Dr. Stuart), to whom this drastic remedy was recommended, was a martyr to gout, history telleth not, but he evidently was at some pains to draft the following confession for Joseph Beckett. "I confess and own before God Almighty and this Congregation that I am heartily sorry for that notorious offence against God Almighty, the Church, the Cannons and Lawes of this Kingdome in prophanely personating and taking upon me the sacred function of a clergyman and unlawfully and irreligiously marrying A.B...C.D., not onely without the qualifications of holy orders, but without banns or licence, in a public alehouse, contrary to the known Lawe and constitutions of this realme; for which wicked counterfitts and unlawfull acts, I pray God and man to pardon mee, faithfully and sincerely promising in this publick and sacred place never to be guilty of any crime of ye like nature for the future, but will obediently behave myself."

What the above-named Dr. Cheynie, who was presumably a doctor practising in Exeter, would have thought of the con-

sumption of wine at the Episcopal Visitation at Honiton in 1771, we cannot discover; but the amount entered on the official account was so startling that the registrar enquired into the matter, and under the item, "Wine at Burrough's, 35 bottles, £3 7s. 5d.", took the trouble to apogetically add, "not so many!"

The work of the Restoration was not merely spiritual and moral, but structural and material. We are able to shew conclusively how gigantic and difficult was the work of reforming the lamentable condition of indecency and disorder into which priests and people had lapsed. Not less costly and widespread were the dilapidations and decay into which the churches and vicarage houses had fallen. The terriers of glebe and of sacred vessels were lost: encroachments had been recklessly made on the sacred building and churchyard. A brief survey of some of the Deaneries will give an idea of the infinite mischief done to the Church, her property and her children.

Many years after this happy event, at Doddiscomleigh, John Coleridge, notwithstanding all the appeals and threats of Michael Dolling, the Rector, "delayed a parcell of Glebe land or Landscore piece belonging to ye Parsonage, called the Aish, to the value of 1s. per ann."

That he should not pay either his own or his wife's Easter offerings or garden penny was, therefore, but natural, though his example was only too well followed by many other parishioners who could not plead even the dangerous excuse of Mr. Thomas Bayly and his wife, who were known publicly as Papists.

At this time Francis Glanvill was sued for opening a door into the cemetery of Whitchurch, and not only turning his pigs in to feed there, but actually leading his horse into the church porch and feeding it there with hay. He kept also a tippling house and suffered lewd persons to pass out that way

from church and drink there, and when they were drunk he turned them out into the churchyard. He had, however, the decency to confess his error and amend.

Such was the ruin wrought during the Civil War, that many like Roger Trosse, Vicar of Roseash (*alias* Ash Rafe), could truly plead in consideration of the complaint made against him by the Dean Rural in 1671, that in the time of the late troubles he lay under sequestration for the space of 14 years, during which time the dilapidations exhibited happened, "And that since his restauration to the Rectory he hath repaired the barne, but confesseth that the Hall and shipping are totally ruined, the hall during his sequestration being converted into a garden, and so it still remains." When in 1665 Thomas Acland, R.D. of Totnes Deanery, had twice viewed the several parish churches therein, he apparently found a far better condition of things, for his brief answer to the articles of inquiry is that the Parsonage house of Dartington and Ditsham were much decayed, but that the present incumbents had promised to repair them.

When Christopher Hitt visited the Deanery of Trigge minor in 1670, he found in some respects a great improvement, though at Bodmin "the church was rift in the roof, the floor unpaved, ye vestry in ruins. The Vicarage was, however, lately repaired. At S. Minfra, *alias* Minfer, Church and Vicarage in good repair, but the two daughter churches, S. Michael and S. Guinedocke, ill paved and ill glazed. Endellion tolerable all, as also S. Kewe, except the windows. The church of S. Teth was structurally well, but no silver chalice for Commnnion, no Cushion for pulpit, no Marriage Table: the house totally dilapidated. Tintagel was in perfect order except for the Marriage Table. Lesnuth, except part of roof, unblameable. Lanteglos rejoiced in confusion; floor uneven: seats much broken: two bells cracked, third bell ropeless: seats of parishioners encroach on Chancell: Communicants annoyed by a

tombstone: Vicarage new. Advent, *alias* S. Tane: The Church decently furnished and repayred: Parsonage house—none that I could find. Blisland: floor badly paved, seats broken, table unbound, but Parsonage in decent repair. Helland: the tower totally dilapidated. Parsonage hath one side wall and 1 chimney much swollen out, threatening to fall. S. Mabyn: bad floor but material at hand. Trevalga and Forraberry: churches and houses decently repaired. Minster: floor unpaved: roof open: Bible unbound, deficient and useless: Parsonage falling into total ruin. S. James his chapel in Bottreaux Castle: well repaired, but one of the houses in the same toun given for repairs has fallen down and another very foul and ruinous. S. Tudy windows shattered, Bible defective: house very good. Breward, *alias* Simon-ward: good order: but floor earthy and unpaved: Vicarage new. Michaelstow all passable and pardonable."

And then by way of appropriately shewing his proficiency in Latin and conveying a promise of prompt amendment, he concludes:

"——— Deque omnibus hisce
Est bene non possum dicere, sed fuerit."

His self definition and date being likewise translated from the vulgar tongue into—

"Christopherus Hill. M.A. et Decanus
originalis de Trigge minore pro anno
novissime præterlapso."

Four years afterwards the Rector of Dodbrooke, Dennis Venn, took upon himself to describe the defects in his Deanery in plain English, and the account is sufficiently deplorable:

Chevelston Church was in want of much reparation, but this was as nothing evil compared with the iniquity of the wardens who had admitted Mr. Hickes, a Noncomformist, to preach therein three Sundays following. He hailed from Saltash, where an active and prosperous colony of Dissenters

troubled the soul of the Vicar and wardens in 1665. "Mr. Hickes, Mr. Travers, Mr. William Toms and Mr. Ludstone neither resorted to Church nor received the Holy Sacrament. They were ministers who were lately outed (*sic*) of their benefices for nonconformity, and we suppose them to hold conventicles here which we believe the sidemen of our parish be able to certify, but they have refused to joyne with us in this presentment."

"The Church of Marlborough was very much unhealed"; another way for expressing the bad condition of the stone roof.

"Huish was equally defective and also lacked wardens, who were also wanting at Cheston (?) and Rinmore."

"The Chappell of Buckland Tousaints utterly ruinated and altogether unfitt for Administration of Divine Worship, being at ye charges of Mr. John Southcott to be repaired."

"The Rectory Barn at East Alvington altogether dilapidated."

By the year 1674 much attention had clearly been paid to the reconstruction of the fabrics of the churches in North Devon if some of the proper articles of furniture were still absent.

The condition, however, of the parish church of Barum was indeed deplorable. It was not that they only wanted a flagon for the Sacramental wine, or that as Joseph Eyres, the rural dean, expressed it, "a jugge being sometimes used on the Table, detracting from the solemnity of ye service, but I present that ye walls which keep up the rising earth in the churchyard is in many places broken doune so that ye graves with the dead Bodies are in danger of falling into the allyes and thoroughfare."

At Filly and Fremington the stables were broken down. The ancient kitchens of the latter parish vicarage and at Westly were down. At Arthington the chancel roof was smashed in. At Chittlehampton the parishioners' gardens encroached on the churchyard. Yarnscombe was disgraced by

the carpet for the Table, marred and moth eaten. At Instow the pulpit stands incommodiously for want of light, the general complaint of such ministers as preached there, who request that it might be removed to a more convenient place.

Pilton Church was the only one which called for serious regret, and here the tower and bells had fallen down, the chancel wall was in some places dangerously defective and the graves wanted paving; this last defect to be repaired by Samuel Rolls (*sic*), Esq.

The last entry of this obviously aged official, for his handwriting is most shaky, is this:

"I present Jonathan Kingsland, *alias* Wyat of Pilton, for being married uncanonically, without Bannes, in refusing to have them asked thrice on a Sunday in his owne Parish." (The first mention of a marriage by banns in Southmolton Church is May 5, 1719, between W. Chapple and Francis Williams).

But it is obviously impossible to describe in detail or in brief the structural condition of the many hundred churches throughout Devon and Cornwall. What concerns us more are the attempts made by the clergy to reform and rebuke the vicious and irreligious habits of neglect and contempt which prevailed both among rich and poor towards the holy Ordinances and Sacraments of the Church. To do this they needed restored churches, and in a few years these were in most villages supplied by rates levied on the parishioners according to their estate and quality, not without many complaints from those who were now estranged and worshipped in conventicles.

A variety of excuses was invented for absence from Holy Communion, but the stricter parish priest professed to find no palliation for habitual neglect, Roger Ashton, Vicar of S. Andrew's, Plymouth, straightway presenting his defaulters "for not comming to the ceremony of the Lord's supper" in 1670, just as "Henricus Batten, curatus" of Marldon scheduled amongst his "Non Communicants Sir Edward Cary and his

Lady, Sir George, Mr. Thomas Cary and his wife, James Blackadon and one Henry the butler there, and a servant mayde of one John Yonge" without distinction. Herein doubtless they were just, but the following instance shews how a mitigation of the penalty was frequently sought when the poor sinner was like Thomas Marshall, of Thorverton, "a verie poore man a chimney swiper and hath 3s. *per mensem* of the parrish for his reliefe. I entreat, writes George Trobridge, that he may be dismissed gratis upon the minister's certificate of the receiving of the Sacrament."

At times the plausible nature of the excuses for not receiving the Holy Communion would, one might have hoped, exempted the defendants from the extreme severity of the law, but it was obviously incompatible with the Royal injunctions or their incorrigible obstinacy.

There is neither date nor name of place to the following presentment, but probably it refers to 1660-80 and to Dawlish.

There, "John Manley confesseth that he did not receave the Sacrament the last Easter nor within this year and the reason thereof is because he conceiveth that he should eate and drinke his oune damnation if he should partake in company with such as are open and profane and debauched persons and one or more of them convicted of swearing.

John Glanvill confesseth that he did not receive because he conceiveth that he should dishonour God thereby by reason of some things that he is not satisfied in.

Francis Pyle, junr., confesseth that he did not receive because he saith he may not partake with wicked person of publick scandall."

Sentence: The Lord (Bishop) having inspected their examinations, pronounced that they had incurred the Canonical penalty and decreed that they should be excommunicated *nisi* —here there is a significant blank.

Where the Vicar or wardens with relentless determination

enforced the law as to Church attendance regardless of quality and trade, it was left for the village constable at times to plead for the poor and hard-working and to enlist additional sympathy from parishioners of repute.

"Mr. Shapling (? Chaplain or Shapland) wee are informed by Walter Emete the bareare heare of that there is a processe out againste a pore man, one Richard Hanaford, for absentinge from the parishe upon the Sabbothe day be it known unto you that he is very seldome from his parishe morning or eveninge prayer, being a fuller by his trade doth receive a piece a clothe to or three at Withicome bearinge it under his arme or on his shoulder havinge nothinge to releve his carge but his handes desyring your favour herein not to deal so straitly with him and so I ever hoping to God of your health and prosperite from Buckland the tenthe of this instant of October."

This loving friend was Richard Bennett, constable of the parish of Buckland-in-the-Moure, and his co-signatory was Mr. Henry Windeat. The male sex, however, had no monopoly of wicked resistance to the Church or of disorderly behaviour and indecorous language to her ministers and laws.

But patience was thrown away on such an obstinate virago as this Sybil of Dunheved. Jan. 11, 1665.

I, John Ruddle, minister of Lanceston, in ye County of Cornwall and diocese of Exeter, doe by these presents present one Sybilla Prout, of ye said parish, for Refusing to cohabit with her own husband, for railing against the Bishops, and vilifying ye authority and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of ye Church itself, for absenting herself from ye Publique service of God both prayers and preaching, where shee hath not been for at least four monthes last past, for not receiving ye Sacrament for at least 12 months last past, and for being a common curser and swearer and a disturber of ye peace of ye neighbourhood. This worthy might well have sat for the vivid portrait drawn by the author of Hudibras of the political fishwife.

Ere we leave the matter of discipline in the Church the opportunity may be advisedly taken of shewing how at a later period the clergy were influential in enforcing its provisions both for amendment and correction.

Cases of penance being actually performed are found even late into the 2nd decade of the 19th century, though gross and habitual sins were indulged in impunity and persistence notwithstanding the forbearance of the clergy.

In 1764 George Boughton, the Vicar of Hatherleigh, shews what his treatment was in cases of continual depravity and an occasional fall of the various delinquents who exercised his patience, he writes:—"I have threatened Gill so long till I believe you will receive his money. But from Amy Westlake who is a parish Apprentice and her parents poor there is nothing to be expected, yet as she probably will be presented by her master again and again who is ye Churchwarden and one of the Top of my parish and as she is a notorious Jade, People's mouths are very open upon ye Court and rather than she still remain unpunished, I will pay for the stamps of an order for publick Penance.

Elizabeth Westlake is a person who has lived in good Reputation before ye one Slip and since; if hers can be turned into a private Penance, I will give half-a-guinea out of my own Pocket, for she is not able to."

The endorsement of Mr. Geare as to "the Hatherleigh Peccants" is this: Ans$^{d.}$ E. Westlake and Gill have extracted Penance. A. Westlake—fees to be rem$^{d.}$: 2s. 6d. exp$^{d.}$ only for st. and appr. service. Exp. Confession from her and her submission preparatory to Penance.

Better illustrations of the anomalies and incongruities of the canon law in execution cannot be furnished, but the right and proper spirit in which the clergy did administer the law, in accordance with the teaching of the Church and of Her Lord in His primary commission to the Apostles, in evil times and

in a naughty world is excellently shewn in the letter which Robert Forster, Vicar of Hartland, wrote to Mr. Edward Cooke, the Episcopal Registrar, on Oct. 26, 1719.

Sir, I hear that one Benedic Carter hath apply'd to ye Court for commuting for a base child. The man indeed has ever had a fair reputation here before this fault and by his industry in the wool trade has brought himself into very good circumstances. But now instead of truly repenting of his fornication (and I presume the design of Eccles. Courts is to bring these persons to Repentance) he boldly denyes the fact to me (tho' I am well satisfied he is guilty) and offers me to take the H. Sacr. upon his Innocence, which is no good sign of his Repentance, but a great addition to his guilt. So I hope you will bring him to a true penitent behaviour before you let him out of ye Court, which is all I aim at for his soul's good. And since tis the usual practice in Eccles. Courts to allow some of the commuting money toward pious or charitable uses, I humbly beg you will pursue that practice in the present case. This parish is become the byword and reproach of the Country for fornic. and adult. There are no less than 4 women delinquents here at present. I shall be glad and thankful if a proper strictness shall be used in ye Courts against these gross impieties; it may be an effectual means to give a check to those persons here, whom no endeavours of mine will re-claim. And I can safely Appeal to God and mine own Conscience that an hearty desire to put a stop to these growing Immoralities is the only motive of my writing this.

Men of this stamp and temper were found undoubtedly in many parishes of Devon and Cornwall during these factious and feeble days of the Church's trial.

The records we find of strenuous and sober-minded work sufficiently answer the taunts of general contempt with which her enemies revile her during her sorest probation when recovering from the awful disease and exhaustion of the

Rebellion, subsequent social degradation and anœmia of funds, she rallied and struggled into stronger health and surer wealth, winning the hearts and through her means of grace saving the souls of her children in village and town.

Can Southtawton be reproached or the ministry ridiculed when in 1670 William Parsons, the Vicar, could send up to the Bishop a list of 60 persons whom "he had examined, found perfect in their Catechisme and thought fit to be confirmed."

And it is but just to mention how this character for orthodox conformity was accidentally proven by a case which came on in the Consistorial Court in 1686. In 1681 Mr. Francis Hole and more than 21 witnesses of the parish went before the Bishop with a complaint as to their minister, Mr Bowen, and received their expenses. They wished to displace him, and the costs came to over £5. Whether or no this could be fairly charged on the church rates was the question at issue, and during this examination Richard Markes, of Southtawton, tailor, declared that he very well remembered how in 1681 and 1682 there were several Communions or administrations of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at least 15 or 16, and that there were very many communicants, the parish being very populous and well affected; at all these he was present. Mr. Francis Hole, as churchwarden, could not have expended less than £5 in bread and wine, "they sometymes at a Communion making use of 14, sometymes 10, sometymes 6, and sometymes 4 bottles of wyne according to ye dayes and tymes, they usually making use of wyne commonly called tent or Malago or both."

Happy also indeed the parish which so soon after the horrors of the Civil War could be represented by its Vicar as only lacking in such three unimportant defects as a bier (now new made), a dog-whipper (established) and the Churchyard fences (now in process of completion). This was the condition of Newton S. Petrock on Nov. 27, 1665, wrote Richard Potter.

In not a few instances the necessity of obtaining a licence

from the Bishop's Court for selling meat in Lent, teaching schools, instructing in navigation and practising surgery or medicine may have brought a few liegemen to the Church, but without any question professions were constantly made for the purpose of securing such privileges without any intention of strict conformity to the Established Church.

There is much suggestive historical illustration in the petition for these "permits" found in their wording, description of the applicant, and the commendant's position.

The lack of any provision for the people of the now prosperous market town of Newton Abbot was indeed deplorable when John Buckley, the minister, James Wolcott and William Beardon, the constables, and Richard Reynell and Nicholas Codner, the wardens, all could testify that "the Inhabitants of Newton Abbott for the generall in any case have not any Victular within ye toune and therefore doe thinke John Yeales, of Newton bushell, being an honest and civil man of that trade a very fitt person to have a licence for the selling of victualls in and for our toune during the time of Lent, whereby he may be Inabled to maintayne his charge." This letter was addressed to the Bishop, Jan. 28, 1663.

The same year the Stratton parson and folk felt anxious about their commissariat, and recommended John Davy and Nicholas Hamly, butchers, as "vitulars," the minister, John Macham, in the first certificate being supported by Sam. Gaye, his warden, and in the other by both wardens and James Jewell, the constable.

The offices of warden and constable seem to have been both held by John Reed at Coleridge, the outlying hamlet of St. Thomas the Apostle, for he, with John Rowe, the Vicar, and John Kingdon and others, combined to recommend Mary, the daughter of George Slee, gent., as of "civil and orderly life and conversation and as desirous to teach school."

The same application was made by John Hosken of "Pieran in Sab°" in 1717 with different and as the period perhaps more emphatically required, further qualifications, on behalf of Jacob Richards "for his teaching an English school in writing and Arithmetick," but as "our late good Bishop was dead," the question arose as to whom the Archbishop had appointed to grant such licences.

A postscript of importance adds that "J. R. is a loyall and conformable person, and has taken the oaths lately injoyned by Parlament." The good offices also of Mr. William Prichard were requested about the same time to speak for Mr. Allen Gear, so that he might be licensed "to instruct in ye art of Navigation, for which he was well qualifyed." Mr. Prichard had examined into his behaviour and found it very agreeable to the present Government both in Church and State, which apparently was the chief recommendation in this case. The other instance of testimonial is more *ad rem ecclesiasticam*, for therein the same Mr. Prichard addresses: "My honored Lord Ofspring (Blackall) on behalf of a gentleman who had lived at Dartmouth 12 months and preached to a French congregation. He was ordained by Presbyters in Germany, but, being not satisfied with that ordination and heartily reconciled to the Liturgy, Doctrine and Discipline of our Church, is very willing to have Episcopal ordination.

His behaviour had been very regular, pious and exemplary. Many had tried to hinder him from coming over to the Church, but he was so hearty and sincere that they failed in their attempt. On this account purely some of his congregation will forsake him." The letter bears date, Dartmouth, September 17th, 1711.

The overflow of superabundant adulation with which it concludes was, we may fairly hope, successful in obtaining the request of Mr. Prichard, but nothing was said as to his scholarly attainments.

Unsatisfactory seemed the portion of those whose lot was cast in the once flourishing village of Thorverton, whence Geo. Trobridge lifts up his voice in a lamentation of unusual interest when he writes from Dunsallar in 1667, though he mauls his excellent but evil-intreated Diocesan most gruefully in name. "I had a license to teach schoole in Thorverton in Anno 1644 in Bishop Broombrick's (!) tyme, and by vertue thereof after the first seige I did teach, and Mr. West and his wife, with almost fortie others, were my schollers, untill the Earle of Essex came into Thorverton and routed master, schollers and all, and of late by entreatie I began to teache againe; but there came into our towne a prowd Rhetoricall fellow, and came with his Brother to collect the Chimney monies, and came and insinuated with Mrs. West (to whom my land is engaged for £500), and he putt him up (namelie Emmott) to teache schoole, soe I was offe, but since hee having omitted, as I believe, findeing it not worth his Labour is gone, and some of the parishioners this daie have sent their children in the Latine, &c., I have againe began to goe on to teach in the Latine, Butt there is Mr. Hellyar that hath a certificate from the better parte of the parishioners to teach English. I doe entreate you to gett him a license to teach *Linguam Vernaculam* et quantum pro virili prodesse possit, that he may the better bring forth the younger fitted for the Latyne and soe I rest, &c."

When William Battishill, Vicar of Shebbear and Chapel of Sheepwash in 1665, spoke for Philip Hunkin, gent., he could testify that he was not only civil, conformable and of honest conversation, but "understanding the Latine tongue and partly the Greeke." These accomplishments were clearly not at this time *sine qua non*, when we hear Mr. Samuel Pattison, Vicar of West Anstey, confessing to the Court in 1685, how, when he came from Dulverton fair and was asked to write the translation of a warrant against Thomas Abbott for the bailifs,

he interpreted the words *die Sabboti* as Sabbath day, but did not doe it designedly to frustrate the arrest, but through his unskilfulness with ye terms of Law? But when Daniel Jennings sought to be admitted "to preach and expound the Gospell," nothing would suffice but that the Rector of Illogan, the Vicar of St. Hilary and of St. Ives must testify that he holdeth nothing contrary to the present discipline, but wholly conformeth to the same.

Again, Mr. Millet, who had served Mr. Collins' cure at Camborne, was presented by Jasper Phillipps, Rector of Phillack, as having approved himself "very conformable and painesfull in his ministry," of a sober life and conversation, "as indeed his most noble and most honored Patron, Sir John Arundell," had thought fit to give him "the parsonage of Whitsun." This presumably stands for Whitstone, in Cornwall.

Such a benefice would, it is to be hoped, be of more pecuniary value proportionately than that which, under his hand and seal, Mr. Charles Tremayne was able to offer to Mr. William Polkinghorne, B.A., when he sought Deacons' orders with a title for St. Blazey. "I shall allow him thirty pound per ann. untill such times as hee shall bee better provided for." Such was the magnificent hire of the labourer on the 14th day of September, in the year of Grace 1686, to which John Dinham and Ruth Drinkwater put their names. Next to the clerical must, in point of responsibility and demand, come the medical faculty, in which connection it is not out of place to note that at the most critical period of the Cathedral constitution no less than four of the canons were graduates of medicine, probably of Montpelier. Such then was the testimony of men who clearly considered themselves of repute in the outlying districts on the eastern border of the Diocese. Richard Luce, Vicar of Chardstocke, Robert Smith, Professor of Medicine, Aron Baunton, *medicus licentiatus*, and the two churchwardens, Thomas Vincent and Henry Tower, declared

that George Staple had been always a loyal subject to his Majesty and an obedient son of the Church of England, well seen in the science of medicine and chirurgery, and very successful in his undertakings. Thus with many more like words they certified that he would be of much good and profitable use to the country, almost exceeding the zeal with which the responsible clerks round Bodmin testified to the skill of "Tubb Jewell, barber," in 1668, "in cheirurgery and phlebotomy," their names being William Mathew, Jasper Phillipps, J. Greinsworth, W. Collyer, Philip Dinham and Francis Grylls.

How by the greatest amount of loyalty, sobriety and civility, Abraham Quicke was to be qualified to act as a physician and to be licensed to cure green wounds, it is somewhat hard to say but that John Upcott, Esq., Mayor, John Ivey, gent., J.P., John Newte, minister, and George Stucley, town clerk and clerk of the peace, should be ready to swear that, having learned and attended one Joseph Tilley, Dr. in Phisique, and acquired thereby much of skill in discerning and finding out dropsyes, fistulas, cancers, imposthumes, ulcers, and other such like dangerous deseases he was eminently fit to have a license or *facultas practicandi*, must have suggested to the Bishop that the Liberty of Tiverton, in which these worthies professed to keep the peace, must have been a very lazare in 1689, while it is to be feared that a large number of the more credulous and timid had recourse to a mischievous old witch, by name "Goody Rewe," in North Molton, who aggravated their fears and frailties and emptied their purses.

Amidst all these varying and incompatible subjects which came within the Bishop's cognisance, none are more pleasant than the brief notes which the clergy wrote, forwarding their respective donations towards the City of London in her great distress.

The ever indefatigable James Watson, of Northam, on

November 10th, 1666, sending his quota of help, £2 9s. 10d., simply adds: The carrier is paid and a receipt requested.

There were, however, greater evils in the ecclesiastical interest than even green wounds or all the other distressing calamities and accidents to which the feeble frame of man was liable.

Pluralism, heresy, nonconformity, ignorance and fanatic schism were eating out the life of the Established Church, and nothing but a prompt diagnosis or drastic remedies would avail.

The Deans Rural were called upon to make diligent and accurate enquiry and certify without delay on every point which affected the welfare of the Church in their immediate vicinity. To give a tithe of these replies would be impossible with the space at our disposal. The particulars as to every Nonconformist, pluralist, physician, hospital, school and charity would fill pages, but one or two instances may be given of the manner in which property was transferred, as illustrating many more similar abuses, from these now decaying but invaluable files.

Writing from Liskeard on the eve of Xmas, 1686, to Mr. John Austin, at Lannor, near St. Neot, William Osborne tells him "how St. Mary Magdalene Hospital, commonly called the Maudlin, was built for the relief of three lazars or leprous people, given by the Lord of the Manor of Cothele and endowed with five or six fields, now in the possession of Thomas Bennett, who rents it of Mr. Thomas Geich, of Frisette, in the parish of St. Budocks at £10 a year. The three Lords of the Manor of Cothele are William Drake, late of Yarbury, in the parish of Culliton, and county of Devon, Esq.; William Trevill, late of Buckshead, in the parish of Budox, co. Devon, Esq., and William Hambly, of London, merchant. The last vendor was W. Trevill, Esq., who gave it to Mr. Thomas Geich during the life of John Geich, of

Liskeard, carpenter. Before it was enjoyed by Francis Hodge during his wife's life, to whom it was given by John Harrys, Esq., then Lord of Cotahle, which W. Hambly, of London, merchant, now enjoys, and the next is the heir of W. Drake, late of Yarbury, Esq. It was formerly employed to the use of Lazar people in my predecessors' time, but since my time, about 19 years last past, has been possessed by Mr. Francis Hodge or his Assignes until ye death of Joane, his wife, who was buryed Sept. 6, 1674, and, since her death, enjoyed by Mr. Tho. Geich and his Assignees. This is the best account that I am able to give. I have heard that its first building and the original of its dedication layes among ye Records of our Towne of Truro."

Another instance of the quaint customs of Cornwall and of the decay and loss of Church property may be quoted. April, 1671. "Belongeinge to the parrish of Lanivett there is a considerable revenue of landes and rents, and there is farther a considerable Stocke in money and debts. Itt was first gotten by an adventure in a Certaine Tinnworke, which everye person having an estate at or in the sd. parishe did, accordinge to the proporcion thereof, send a man or more to worke in the sd. worke by the notice of a proclamacion made in the parishe churche that Sunday, who were to attend the saide worke the weeke followeinge, whiche worke, proveinge successfulle, the Charitie of that age was suche as those who had the Management of the sd. Stocke with parte thereof purchased the sd. lands, and Laid out the remainder of the mony uppon Interest; upon the increase whereof and out of the aforesd rent they have tyme out of mynd repaired their church and mainteined all their poore. But the now Inhabitants partly by convertinge the Stocke to other uses and by severall ill managemts have much impaired the same, for whereas about Tenn yeeres sithince there was about £450 of good debts, besides some desperate then oweinge (though they

have of late yeeres graunted severall leases of parcell of the sd. land) there is not above £250 now left, and in few yeeres (unless timely prevented) will probably come to anothinge."

The following reports are of great interest:—

Diocese of Exon. Deanery of Powder. Archdeaconry of Cornwall.

In pursuance of certayne orders and Instructions by the most Rev. Father in God, Gilbert, Lord Archbp. of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, dated July 17, 1665, given to all the Bishopps of his Province, &c., and especially to Right Rev. Father in God, Seth, Ld. Bp. of Exon of all the Deanes Rurall of the several Deanerys of this diocese, and to me particularly that at the time of his Trienniall Visitation nowe ensuinge they doe observe these orders following concerning pluralities and their curates.

Mr. Mathusalah Sharpe hold two Benifices, the one Luxilian within this Deanery in which he resides; and the other Blowfleming within this Deanery where he keepes one Mr. Horrell for his curate, but of which degree the said Mr. Sharpe is or whether lawfully quallified I cannot informe: the said benifices are distant about 23 myles.

Mr. James Rosmyton hath alsoe two benifices, the one St. Ailan upon which he now resides; the other Clemence, he serves them both himself, being not above 5 myles distant. his degree I know not.

(2) Concerninge Lecturers.

There is not a lecturer within this Deanery.

(3) Concerning Schoolmasters and Instructors of youth.

Mr. Rich. Jagoe teacheth a Grammer Schoole in Truroe licensed by the Ld. Bp. of this Diocesse: of what degree I cannot informe.

Mr. Joseph Rickett teacheth a Grammer school in Grampound, lycensed by the Chancellour of Exon: degree as before.

Mr. Hugh Warren . . . . . in ffowey he saythe he intends to gitt a lycense this visitation : not any degree.

Mr. Michael Prestwwood keeps a school in ffowey for English, writing and Arithmetick : not any degree.

There is never a free school within this Deanery.

(4) Concerning practicers of Phisick.

Deg : Polwheel, Esq., sometymes fellow of Exeter Coll. in Oxford, practiseth Phisick in Probus.

Thomas Stephens practiseth phisick.

Bachelor of phisick, late of Exeter Coll.

Mr. Henry Howard Licensed by the Ld. Bp. of this Diocesse practiseth phis'ck in Truroe.

Mr. J. Gibbs Lycensed beyond sea practiseth phisick in Verrian, degree I cannot be informed.

Mr Michal Hobbs Lycensed by Dr. Martyn, late Chancellour of Exon practiseth Chirurgery in ffowey.

Mr. ffrancis Herle An Accademician practiseth phisick in Cuby.

(5) Concerning Nonconformist Ministers.

Mr. Nathanael Tincombe was ejected out of the parish of Lansallos for Non conformity and liveth now in the parish of ffowey. upon his temporall estate behaveth himself quiet and peaceable both to the Church and state : of what degree I cannot informe.

Mr. Joseph Halsey was ejected out of St. Michael Penkivell for his non subscription and liveth now in the parsonage house of the said St. Michael Penkivell which he renteth of the present Incumbent. He liveth, &c., as before.

Mr. John Tactkin was ejected out of the parish of ffowey for his nonconformity and liveth now in the town of ffowey who when the orders were shewed unto him insteed of giving an account of his degree and behaviour laughed at the orders.

JO : ATWILL Decan : Rural : de powder.

1665 ffowey
Aug. 29th

. . . . . Deanery.

Edm. Condy, Vicar of Lamerton, Dean Rurall.

No lecturers or lectures in this Deanery.

Presentments given in at the Visitation . . .

Reverend Father in God, Seth, First of September, 1665.

Miles from Plymouth.

18 Joseph Maynard, Dr. of Divinity, Rector of Exeter Colledge yn Oxon and of the great Synod.

20 Joseph Squire, Bachelor of Divinity, Parson.

A Schoole for youth, Mr. Cooper, of Braston.

20 William Williams, Mr. of Arts. Parson.

. . . . . ton 20 Thomas Wrayford do. do.

. . . . . vistock 12. Thomas Glanvill. B.A. Curate.

A free schoole of £16 Rent per ann. kept by Henry Tow, B.A., lycensed.

Practitioners of Physick and Cyrurgery. John County. Peter Countye.

Nonconformist. Thomas Larkham. Mr. A. at present excommunicate.

Damerel. 14. John Hichens, M.A., Parson.

20. Richard Pote. Parson.

Stowford 22 Ezekiel Wood. M.A. Parson.

Brentor. 12. Henry Moore.

Bradwood Widgyer Beach who serveth for £10 per ann. Mr. Coridon. Impropriator

20 Maristow and Thrusselton Pierce Howell, B.A. Parson. John Herring, B.D., of a Quiet good and Conformable Conversation, left his benifice Aug. 18, 1662.

Lew drencher 20 John Moore. B A. Parson.

Bratton 18 Cooper Parson who is also Schoolemr at Lifton.

Virginstowe. 24 Nicholas Tucker. Vicar.

Kelly. 18. Peter Nicolls. parson.

Lamerton. 16 Edmond Condye, B.A. Vicar. A schoolemaster of yong children.

Richard Fursman the whole profits not above . . . . .

Hutton Bridestowe his curate Clement Hatch

hath Soorton: his curate Palmer

he resides at Northlewe.

The condition of affairs ecclesiastical at Sancreed was, it is to be hoped, unequalled by that of any other church in the whole country at this or any period.

The spirit of John Smyth, Vicar, must have indeed been broken not so much at the sight of the dilapidations by which the structure both within and without was disfigured, but by the terrible disorder, confusion, wrangling, malice and free fighting which prevailed. The following accidents of age were pardonable and easily repaired. "The King's armes and the ten Commandements bearinge date anno 1605, are through antiquity, soe defaced that both Table, &c., ought to be new made, purtrayed and written, the old not being legable: neither is ye Lord's prayer nor ye creed, nor any other sentences of ye scripture drawne nor sett up in our church.

The Tower (not havynge byn poynted for more than 40 or 50 yeares) takes water with ye starmy windes and Tempests and hath great need of new pointinge.

There is no cover to ye font; neither of Tymber, nor of Linnen: nor any Carpett for the Communion Table.

Wee have no booke of Homilies.

Wee present ye defect of a new Register booke: and that ye old hath byn deteyned for these many yeares by the Inhabitants of Bowrigh which were John Lanyon deceased; since Mary Lanyon, his relict, and now is in danger to be lost to ye great dammage of persons concerned. (*Citetur* is the marginal note to John Lanyon *deceased!*) Wee have no chest with Lockes and Keys for keeping of ye Bookes, Utensells and Plate, togeather with other Ornaments of our Church.

Wee present that we have noe Terrier of our Glieb Landes, Gardens, Orchards, &c., nor of ye Houses."

And even this deficiency might be condoned, "for our minister doth Catechise and expounde upon ye Catechisme of ye Church, *except* it be at such tymes when ye persons appointed refuse or neglect to send their children and servants."

With him then it was a clear case of *non possumus*, but if the Nonconformists, Richard Olivye and Thomasin, John Bosinie's wife, were forgiven for being Anabaptists or Quakers, and 'for not frequenting ye publique ordinances and for not receiving ye Holy Sacrament of ye supper of ye Lord,' no excuse could be formulated for Humfry Nicholas, who, when he did come to church (which was very seldom), 'did not demean himself with yt due reverence yt he ought sometymes makyng disturbance to ye minister and opposing and denying him entrance into his pulpett by means whereof ye whole congregation hath been disappointed of a sermon.'

Then comes a long list of sinful sheep like Martyn Maderne, who neither frequented Church on Sundays or holydays, nor received the Holy Sacrament. The chief culprits in this respect were the family of William Lanyon, following whose unhappy example, neither wife, children, nor servants, even when appointed to be catechised, came to the House of God. In equal disgrace stood both Tobias Lanyon and Mary his wife, John Lanyon and Ann his wife, Humfry Nicholas and Jane alias Jeneter (Janetta) Trewren. John Lanyon had been pronounced excommunicate for his contempt of court.

Then there were idle scoffers and rebels like John Olivye, senior, who 'brought into the Church upon ye Sunday next after Midsummerday last the Tith of his Cheese, and contrary to ye orders of former Ordinaryes, left the same there all the time of Divine Service, under pretence of a custome not observed, upon ye ordinarye's suppressing, above thirty yeares.'

Moreover, near about 30 years since there issued "out of ye Concestory of Exon" a Commission for the better reformation

and ordering of sittings in the Church, with a schedule. This order had lately been violated and infringed by some usurping persons and intruders into others seates: the particulars are as follows:—

In the first seat on South side, Tobias Lanyon and William Baynard, senior, have intruded themselves to the oppressing and disturbing of others whose Ancestors and predecessors in their estates have byn formerly setled by Authority. *Citentur.*

In the same seat with Humfry Nicholas, whose scandalous misdemeanours had been previously noticed, "there is one John Adams of meane estate and fortune, and in the seat opposite to that in the body of ye Church, Elizabeth his wife and daughter, whose sittinge so high causeth those who are of ye Twelve of ye Parish and their wives (treble to them in theyre payments or more) to be far backe in ye reare and lower seates.

In 1st seate on ye North side William Lanyon quarrells and excepts against ye sittinge of Edward Chergwin, one of ye Twelve, and most sufficient man in ye Parish and Chiefest for payments; and would countenance and continue Samson Chergwin there who gatt ye place by Intrusion only.

We further present that by usurpation and intrusion in opposition to ye former settling soe long since there is much disorder in most of ye other seates in our Church by younge, indigent and resolute (!) persons who of right ought to be reduced to inferiour places."

A commission issued for "repayre of thinges amisse" at Lady-day, and as this lamentable catalogue of iniquities was presented at Bishop Anthony's Visitation at Penrin on July 15, 1671, there was ample time for amendment.

But the pew quarrell was not apparently at an end. Another member of the family of Lanyon arises and claims the admiration not only of the honestest men of Sancreed, but even of the Worshipfull Jaspar Phillips, Official of

Cornwall and of our Right Reverend Diocesan Lord Byshoppe of Exon.

Fourteen of the principal men of the parish draw up this exquisite testimonial to the quality of Mr. Francis Lanyon and bewail with confusion and deep regret the difficulties and obstacles which he has been called upon to endure in search of a proper sitting in his own parish church. Hearken to his noble connections.

"Whereas Francis Lanyon, of Sancred, Gen. Beinge, a man of considerable Estate and marryed into a very worthye familye; viz: Mrs. Phillip Nicholls, Neese to the Wor. Colonel Godolphin, Esq., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and one of the greater payers both to the Church and Poore of ye sayd Parish, and to the Pole-money rate assessed and taxed as a gentleman, &c., hath no convenient seat," &c.

But we need not recite any more of the hardships which this "gent." endured at the hands of "three or four perverse spirits." He and his wife were so much grieved that "his worthye friends and alyes" could not find a suitable seat until they had obtained leave to erect a sitting in a vacant place where no seat ever was. "Wee looke upon ye sayd francis Lanyon to be one of the major part of the Parish and one of the Chiefer of them."

In other parts of Cornwall things were certainly better. At Lewanick and Antony a Bible of the late Translation set forth by King James's authority was wanting; at Saltash Chapel by S. Stephens, Northill and Callington (spelt Killington) the windows needed glazing; at Southill the stock's needed covering; at S. Melin and Linkinhorne the Vicarage house was out of repair, and at the latter place, "the Ten commandments and The King's Armes being very dull they must be renewed and flourished."

The way in which matrimonial business was done may again be seen when Henry Warren, Vicar of Loddiswell, writes on

May 2nd, 1678, to "Cousin Cooke," the Bishop's Registrar for a license, inasmuch as Mr. Hurrell intends "to match his sonne speedily....the businesse is very faire and legall, there being a plenary consent on both sides"; the solemnity of another official letter being somewhat marred by the express request that when his new hat came down from London, he would take it out of the box, "so that it might lose something of the Archdeacon's cock," a very suggestive allusion to the peculiar brim, now as then significant of ecclesiastical dignity.

In asking permission for a young man to enter holy orders, the before-named Nicholas Becket, Rector of Clawton, bursts into a rhapsody of devout aspiration on behalf of the Bishop and the Church when he writes to recommend Mr. Thomas May as a candidate, the pregnant reference to the political weather in 1686 being exceedingly pointed.

"My heart's desire and praier for your Lordship is that you may ever dwelle in the secret places of the Most High and abide under the shadow of the Allmighty! If we who are full of daies does not outlive *the present cloud*, we are most comfortably assured (through everlasting mercy) of shining as the brightness of the firmament for ever, and ever. Blessed, for ever blessed be our God!"

It satisfied Mr. Edward Nosworthy without pious preface to ask the same favour in the same year, but without any apparent forethought of peril, for "his eldest son, and heire apparent" in the cure of Diptford.

The sentences of the Court were not enforced in numerous cases where any sort of contrition or concession was forthcoming, and advances were made by the clergy to bring even the obstinate to a penitential confession of their offence.

In some cases the good office of the parson was effectual to bring back the excommunicate as in the case of one Margery Pengelly, in 1677, of Bradford, near Holsworthy, where John Toocker had "the Almighty God seconding his endeavours,

persuaded her to return to the public worship of Almighty God."

Structural repairs were necessary not only in the out of the way parishes of North Devon but in the more highly favoured churches nearer Exeter, John Gale, Rector of Eastogwell and Dean Rural for Kenne, presenting in September, 1674, Exminster Church for want of the book of Homilies, Powderham for glass of Sir W. Courtenay's aisle and paving, Westogwell for lack of Homilies, Marriage Table and Canons, and Kenton, because the Chancel windows belonging to Sir Peter Balle, need glazing.

The passing of the Act for the better observance of the Lord's Day at such a time seems like a mockery in an age famous for its disregard for all the sanctities of religion and flagrant profligacy. Diplomacy is the best-named sister of hypocrisy, but wide suspicions of the religious convictions to which Charles II. was professedly engaged were not likely to be lulled even by the rigour with which the Earl of Shaftesbury vexed the Catholic section of the community, for the resolute demonstrations of the Protestant mob shewed unmistakeably how the country would receive a scion of the Stuart house fortified with the benediction and assisted by the machinations of the Jesuit College. The days of absolute monarchy were numbered; the paramount authority of ecclesiastical censures very considerably discounted; and if it be true that the mutual control of both sovereign and people is indispensable to the well-being of the country, it is not less true that the pernicious examples of shameless licentiousness about the Court produced a strong revulsion against their Royal abettor, culminating in the ultimate security of English freedom and the expulsion of the house of Stuart.

ARMS OF JOHN GAUDEN, BISHOP, A.D. 1660.

CHAPTER XII.

The utter and abject disorganisation of the last hundred years can receive no better illustration than by these painful circumstantial facts, but from them one thing is learnt that through evil and good report the Church of England, crippled and maimed as she then was, never collapsed nor relinquished the task of reclaiming her children from their own follies and failings. Happy indeed the Rector, who, sending up the transcript of his Register to his Diocesan, could, like Mr. Arundell, of Filleigh, say in 1694 :—"The Court is desired to take notice that the Churchwarden has nothing to present, seeing the Toleration is on foot, for both Church and Churchyard and all their appendages are as Canonical as any in this County."

But before we proceed to the period of the Revolution, some notice must be taken of an event which elicited in a most

remarkable way the true political and religious feelings of both clergy and laity in the West of England.

At this anxious crisis the outlying districts of the Diocese were not desirable residences for men who with only a half-hearted wish to feed the flocks committed to their charge, were either too idle or avaricious to do their work.

Trouble was hard at hand, authoritative succour far to seek, excellent example and precept equally rare. Unhappy John Culme, rector of Molland, could not by any gentle means obtain his tithe of wool, in 1675 (*i.e.* 4 fleeces out of 11), Richard Elworthy asserting that they belonged to the Foresters of Exmoor. Easter duties were always difficult to obtain, but here even the tithe of milk was witheld from the parson, who was puzzled as to whether it was payable for 20 weeks or the whole year, according to custom.

At Langcrass, however, the blame lay with the Vicar. Thomas Silk (alias Horrell), who lived 30 miles off, came but once a quarter to gather up his tithes and utterly refused to obey his Diocesan, adding, moreover, this insult, that when at the request of the parish, Mr James Flexman, of Wear Gifford, came to officiate, he was very rude, took away the Bible, Common Prayer, and surplice. A large number of the most influential parishioners, including Anthony and Charles Gifford, Francis Coffin and others, petitioned the Bishop but in vain.

In the Eastern part of the County of Devon there was much sympathy with the Duke of Monmouth, but among the clergy, one, by name William Mayow, whether heard of at Membury or at Rampesham in Dorset, was without doubt a very dubious champion of the then ruling powers. The Court of Quarter Sessions had offered £20 for the discovery of any author of a seditious libel. This was an adequate inducement to Mayow to keep his ears open, and in 1686 he succeeded in laying information at Midsummer Sessions against Nathaniel

Harvey, for maliciously endeavouring to bring our most serene King James II. into contempt and hatred, and to throw doubt on his Royal authority and to draw from their allegiance the Kings lieges. When asked if he would take the oath, his answer was: Yes, if I did know the lawful heir.

How do you know him to be the lawful heir?

Query, did he refer to the reigning monarch or to the pretender?

But as to Mayow's doctrine, was it heretical?

Mr. Knight, Vicar of Aylesbeare, declared that "his doctrine was wholesome, sound and orthodox," but alas! his life was "contrary to a grave and sober conversation." Still, "drunk or declinable to debauchery" he was not, only his temper was hot.

Query 2.—Had he any licence? The Registrar who had bantered him by calling him "brave fellow," said he had not, though he wanted one on parchment for a shilling!

The Vicar of Axminster, Mr. Joseph Crabb, was of opinion that the whole dislike for Mayow arose about tithes, and that as a most active Loyalist he had incurred the hatred of the country round, it being cramfull of dissenters. Indeed, he had been and was in hazard of his life from the rebels who skulked up and down the country before his Majesty's pardon came forth.

Sir W. Churchill had spoken of Mayow as "a well pleasing minister," a compliment, which those who formed the company at a certain Mr. Nicholas Colman's one night, in all probability scarcely endorsed, for when the host, who was a very old man, was recounting how many of his neighbours he had seen go before him to the grave, up jumped Parson Mayow and with a pistol in his hand threatened to shoot them all, shouting out: Aye, but some be taken off suddenly—others by the hands of violence. Aye, aye, and some are ordained to be hanged. What say ye? D'ye say I am ordained to be hanged! Ye be

a Phanatick, a traytor and a blasphemer. Ye be no king's servant! T'is treason—treason ye have spoken! And they all held him down, for he was much distempered with liquor.

That he was a man of unscrupulous improprieties and ready wit is clear, for if a text was apropos he had it in his mouth. Meeting with a damsel on the road to Axminster who appeared sad he asked her trouble, but when she would not tell him the cause of her grief: Hark ye, said he, Doe ye mind that place of Scripture when Christ came to ye woman of Samaria that was drawing of water, and he told her all that she did? And so I can tell you what ye did last Michaelmas night. This mysterious charge led to further fracas and scandal.

On another occasion he was drinking with friends, when one John Pavey, as they were discoursing of the oath of allegiance, said that he had taken it at Honiton in the late king's days. Says Mayow: May be: but not in this king's days. I took it, replied Pavey, then to that king and his heirs and successors, and this king being ye right heir I took it as much to this king as the other.

This pleased not Mayow, who went off to Sir William Drake and swore that all present the night before had said that James II. was not the rightful heir.

In another case, because a parishioner would not pay him a marriage fee, he swore that he had been enlisted in Monmouth's army, got him sent off to Exeter gaol, and thence to Taunton, whence the poor wretch was transported to Barbadoes, so that as the unhappy wife said: 'she knows not whether her husband be alive or dead:—she cannot tell.'

About this time, a man called Sprague of Mayow's parish asked him whether he had heard that the king had been presented with an address of thanks by some Nonconformists that were in prison, for their deliverance out of prison by the Act of Grace.

And how then was it received? asked Mayow.

T'were very well received: replied Sprague.

James is a very Cordiall Youth: was Mayow's remark, a very cordiall fellow in truth!

Now these words were said in a slighting manner—but Sprague had absconded.

The great enemy of Mayow, as the defaulter in tithes, was the village carpenter, who added this above all to his iniquities, that he sent to ask the minister to come and baptize his dying child. Mayow's answer was: You're a lot of Phanaticall old women! who has put it into your head, ye fool? Go home and tell em I'll plague the North end of the Parish as long as I live.

His ideas of the proper place for marriage were, perhaps, slightly better than those of other irregular clergy, for when Thomas Moggridge and Jane Weekes came once on a time to Mr. Mayow and asked him to marry them forthwith without banns or licence, he hesitated in no respect but in this, in that as much as they came from 'so good a place at Broadclyst' and were themselves of good repute, he would not take them over to the ale house at Dalwood, but did marry them there in the house of one Stocker and George Eden, of Broadclyst, gave the bride away. An interesting incident occurs with regard to Stocker: he had served in the army, he said, 25 years before, and "had often received the Holy Sacrament in ye fort of Plymouth."

Of Mayow, however, little good could be said by anyone. The Sunday after the birth of his child—he declared that he had married Coleman's widow—at reading the Commandments he omitted to read the seventh, 'but whether willingly or by neglect or mistake' it was impossible for the parish clerk to say.

On one occasion, in reading the Psalms, this official had turned over two leaves and "so mistaked ye verse," upon which Mayow fell into a great passion and threatened to kill him if he did not leave the Church *instanter*.

At the aforesaid wedding he signed himself :—

"William Mayow, Clerk and Curate of Halstocke."

The consequence of these terrible irregularities is plainly seen in the "Billa Vera" which some of the parishioners brought into the Bishop's Court. They pleaded that he was not even ordained, was living in adultery and had been guilty of many other misdemeanors, and that he was indicted at Shaftesbury Sessions in 1682. "The fierce Darts of Satan attempts doth so prevail upon him that nothing doth satisfy his lust." In 1686, a memorial was sent to Bishop Lamplugh, recounting his evil deeds, 'which it were not fit for a sober tongue to utter.'

This "overflowing flood" of indictments was not to go unanswered, for even this "irrational creature" had his supporters in Membury.

If a few ill and inconsiderable people of the parish felt so strongly about the iniquities of their pretended curate, a large and influential contingent also felt in duty to their king, Church and clergy, bound to declare what they knew of these petitioners.

Not four of them had received the Holy Sacrament unless at conventicle, although "they express themselves desirous of alwayes to be sucking the breast of their dear mother the Church of England."

Each one of them could count among his family or servants a rebel in this late rebellion, or an informer "in the time of Oliver's usurpacion." As for Mr. Mayow, he had bravely showed his Religion, Loyalty and courage, even to the hazard of his life, in this late rebellion, he always attending the Royal Army.

Out of 2,000 souls in the parish, not more than 200 ever came to Divine Service, so stuffed was it with all sorts of sectaries and schisms. As to the question of tithes—what credence could be given to the woman when she had said—

after the curate had presented her for fornication—"That she would Damme her soule to the Devile but she would be revenged on ye Parson."

The clerk was the offending party, for during Divine Service he made grievous mistakes and when told to go out, threw away the Common Prayer and walked out of the church, exclaiming: "The Devile is in the Parson: the Devile's in the Church."

This explanation of Mr. Mayow's conduct had been kept back of set purpose by his enemies, so that the Bishop might not receive it at the last Visitation at Honiton.

'These wicked sons of Beliall had by indirect and base means set about to ruin their Pastor, but the wicked miscreants should not succeed."

His supporters, some 12 in number, endorsed Mr. Mayow's petition for a restitution of his licence.

If any credence can be attached to the first memorial from the malcontents of Membury, it is certainly remarkable that the following testamur was ever penned:—

Omnibus in Christo fidelibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum pervenerit pro cujusque personæ dignitate Reverentiam.

Cum Gulielmus Mayo, Curatus de Membury, in Diocesi Exon clericus literas nostras Testimoniales de vita sua laudabili morumque integritate sibi concedi petierit. Nos tam honestæ ejus petitioni (quantum in nobis fuerit) obsecundare volentes testamur et per presentes testatum facimus predictum G. M. per totum idem tempus quo apud nos vixerit vitam pie sobrieque instituisse. Insuper in eis que ad Religionem spectant nihil unquam (quod scimus) aut tenuisse aut credidisse nisi quod Ecclesia Anglicana approbat ac tuetur.

In cujus rei testimonium manus nostras apposuimus.

Decembris die vicesimo octavo Annoque Dni 1686.

Johan Rost. Rector de Gittisham.

Ozias Alpcott. Rector de Honiton.

Will: Mallack. Rector de Farway.
Hugh Chase. Vicar. de Yarcomb.
Daniel Quinton. Curatus de Kilmington.

Such irrefragable and substantial testimony to his conversation was assuredly enough, except where sectarian jealousy, hypocrisy and malice debarred all truth and justice.

Those were, indeed, troublous times in the West of England, and things ecclesiastical were as mixed as things national. The Monmouth rebellion left its indelible mark all over the counties of Dorset, Devon and Somerset, in heads and quartered trunks in every town and village.

The clergy, however, evidently had strong faith in the recuperative power inherent in the Church to overcome all obstacles, right all grievances, and in the end triumph against all opposition and misrepresentation, whatever changes might occur in the government of the country.

Thus writes Mr. Francis Condy, Curate of Membury, to his Diocesan, in January, 1689.

Right Reverend Father,

The frowardnesse of some people in our parishes, and their averseness from ecclesiastical order, constraines us to make our complaint to your Lordship, as the immediate Church authority afforded us by God and the king, for the redress of our grievances: To say nothing as to the difficulty of receiving those small tythes, which in Membury we are forced to compound for at 4d. of the pound *per annum*, according as their estates are rated in the Church book to the Poor (which pittance yet we are left without a power to gett in, unless we make our remedy worse than our disease), but as if they were acted by a principle which should scarce keep us alive; viz: that whatsoever we give or doe in discharge of our Function is too little, and whatsoever we have is too much; they will not allow us as much as a maintenance for a parish clerk, but expect the minister should do all offices, or if he will have a

cleark he shall serve the parish gratis or depend on their Courtesy and Benevolence, of which they have none to spare; and this my Lord is the state of the present cleark of Membury (the bearer hereof), a grievance if not redressed, the Incumbent will find it a difficult matter to procure a Curate or the Curate a cleark:

How your complainants may be redressed your Lordship is not far to seek, it being not the first case of this nature that has layen before your Lordshipp (as we have been informed), and that hath been successfully stated and determined; as we hope this will be to the encouragement of

Your Lordshipps humble Servants
and daily Orators,
Joseph Crabb, Vicar of Axminster,
Membury and Kilmington.

Thus, on the principle of centrifugal gravitation, all quarrels and complaints came to the Bishop for judgment and compromise, whether it were in arranging a tithe modus or in a breach of promise. For example, it chanced that Ann Slade, daughter of William Slade, late of Exeter, Brewer, had been earnestly besought by Madam Bogan, of Gatcombe, to be a companion for her daughter, and had not been there long before 'her son Walter Bogan fell in love with her, used all possible endearing artifices to engage her affections which she a long while put off, but having brought her to make a solemn engagement to marry no other person but himself, he holds her still in suspense and will neither marry her nor acquit her, whereby she hath been hindered from very considerable fortunes.' She, therefore, humbly beseeches the Bishop to summon ye said Walter before him and take such a course as may seem fit for her releasement.

The remote parishes of the Diocese lying on the borders of another jurisdiction were naturally then, as now, the opportunities of gross infractions of ecclesiastical order.

Thus does history repeat itself. In 1893, special efforts were made to place the spiritual condition of this out of the way parish on a better footing, and as long ago as 1696, a large number of parishioners wrote to the Bishop that 'they came to him for some redresse, in that Mr. John Roe, an Irishman, came from Plymouth about a year before, took institution to a neighbouring Parish called Oar, in Summersett, after which he obtained presentment for our Parish of Brenden, in Devon, and took institution there also without acquainting his Lordship, having bought it of a Layman. Now he had been absent twelve months without any manner of care to supply the parish, insomuch that we are forced to make collections some tymes for some poor Welch ministers to read ye prayers of ye Church to us.'

But the following prayer shows, that though the Exmoor country is without doubt even now difficult of access, the good folk had certain views of the unspeakable blessings of regular divine worship.

"Our request to your Lordship is yt we have a minister to ourselves, ye profitis of ye parish amounting to abt four score pounds a year and yt we may have prayers twice a day as were wont to have, for it is so great a trouble for us to go every Sunday and holy days, being not within four or 5 miles of any Church to hear a sermon. Our curate hath but 12 pound 10s. a year to serve the parish with, at Brendon, but the curate before, preached, married and crisoned and buried, and now is excommunicated: fynding he had no orders. And our neiboren minesters say if aney of our children dy, that was crisoned by him, they would not Bury them."

Nor was this the only difficulty, 'the curate referred to, one Mr. Charles Howlett, from the smallness of his curacie, having taken upon him to be curate of Culbone.' The evil consequences of this arrangement were far reaching, Arthur Chichester as first signatory, declaring that their 'children and

servants goe to other parish churches, which are far distant, and tarrie out all night and learne ill practices, to ye great dishonour of God and our great griefe and vexation.'

Nor were the grievances of parish clerks, as we have seen (in many places *facile principes* of the place as they undoubtedly were), overlooked. The ancient laudable custom at Broadwoodwidger was that as late as the year 1682-3, the parish clerke (at that time Ariel Cory occupied this honorable office), had hitherto been allowed the sum of 20s. yearly for performing the office, and *also the liberty of gathering what corn he can from house to house in time of harvest: he was now willing to omitte that custome by reason of the troublesomeness of it, so he may be allowed a larger sum instead thereof.* This petition was signed by over a score of the parishioners and secured to the clerk 40s. a year.

The very natural advantage offered to malcontents from the lack of clergy after the Restoration, compelled the parishioners of many towns where Church feeling remained, to approach their Diocesan with a view to the relief of their spiritual wants.

Thus, in August, 1689, John Ruddle, of Launceston, Hen: Huthnance, of St. Gyles, John Harris, Vicar of St. Cleather, and John Turner, of St. Gennys, wrote, humbly recommending that Mr. Thomas May, minister of St. Stephen's, be licensed to preach also at St. Thomas by Launceston, 'there being no minister in that parish and no maintenance for one, a dissenter having lately sett up a meeting there. They thought that the licensing of Mr. May might somewhat restrain ye people from running after him.'

Unfortunately, the social disturbances which were so closely at this time connected with political feelings, affected those who were responsible for, or connected with, religious functions also, and a very remarkable escapade occurred at this period which shews how utterly out of gear all the ecclesiastical machinery still was, even amongst those who dwelt under the

very shadow of the Mother Church, and were, as would have been thought, under the immediate surveillance of the highest authorities.

One day an aggrieved suitor would draw his rapier on the Chancellor of the Diocese as he walked up the nave of the Church.

At another time, the wretched chorister Savery was dragged from his stall and forced out to play the cornet, on small rations and smaller pay, before the troops under the Earl of Albermarle, who was then at the head of the king's forces between Exeter and Taunton.

Then did William Rowe and Caspar Johns run about the City of Exeter, "like common fidlers," and Mr. Geare, the Priest Vicar, though shortly after restored to favor, 'having committed several errors and disorders in reading prayers in the body of the church and in the choir, was ordered and decreed to be silenced for one month.'

For his disobedience to the Succentor, Morgan, a Lay Vicar was publicly reproved and, refusing to obey his directions in singing, threatened with amotion.

Of little purpose was it to order that the books in the upper part of the library be chained and reserved for oversight to the Treasurer when the officials were scattered far and wide in their own scandalous dissipations, or declined to obey the orders of the statutable dignitaries. But one of the most adventuresome of the accomplished but frivolous servants of the Cathedral choir of St. Peter, at Exeter, was Mr. White, who, by some unfortunate accident, becoming acquainted with a lady of noble Cornish family, fled with heartless nonchalance from the exquisite organ which Loosemore had raised upon the choir screen and, changing his name to Captain Lee, went with hot haste in pursuit to Okehampton one fine day in August, 1685.

The whole of the west country was in alarm at the landing

of the Duke of Monmouth, and pretending that he was acting under a special commission from the King, this enthusiastic and devoted musician, remembering the many dancing lessons he had given to his elegant and coquettish pupil in the Cathedral Close, pressed horses for his daring ride and followed her, accompanied as she was by her brother—he by his supposed valet (another member of the Cathedral choir), through Launceston and Camelford to Wadebridge : then they galloped through St. Tudy, halted for a drink at St. Mabyn, and so on to Egloshayle.

The organist then made for St. Issey, turned off at Padstow where he pressed into the king's service more horses, hurried on to St. Columb and thence to Marketjew (Marazion). Here learning that her home was close at hand and mindful of her threat, that if he attempted to molest her amongst her own people, the Cornish would stone him to death, he fled by way of Camborne, after a stay of two or three days at Penzance. Then pressing more horses for the return journey, the distraught dancing master made the best of his way back to Exeter in time to receive formal notice from the Dean and Chapter that his distinguished services in the King's cause, against the rebels, were ample excuse for his absence, which otherwise would have been a grievous breach of discipline, and that his yearly salary was raised by £10, while new gowns and surplices, sackbuts and oboes, were ordered for himself and his colleagues of the choir at the cost of the Chapter.

The end of this century was in every way critical, but nothing testifies so truly to the existence of a deep feeling of large-hearted Catholic conviction and purpose as the organization of the two great societies which have at home and abroad caused the light of the gospel to shine throughout the world. Dr. Thomas Bray, moved by the spirit of the motto borne by the most beloved of Devon families, that of Northcote of Pynes—*Christi crux est mea Lux*—by his exemplary life,

indefatigable energy and unbounded charity, may fairly be considered as the originator of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

But if further illustration is desirable of the anomalous inconsistencies which moved the administration of the ecclesiastical law, we may refer to an instance of tolerance which rejoiced, or was rather indeed instigated by, the Bishop himself. John Knight, Vicar, wrote under date September 20th, 1689, to tell his Diocesan that Mr. Par, a Nonconformist Minister, had read the prayers of the Church of England and preached for several years in the Chapel of Newton Poppleford, in the Parish of Aylesbeare, during the reign of King Charles II., and when the penal laws were afterwards executed he was silenced by the Rev. Father in Lord God, Thomas, Lord Bishop of the Diocese. But when the toleration was granted by King James, Mr. Par read the prayers and preached in the chapel as before. I then advised with the Rev. Bishop aforesaid, who said to me: Do not you take any notice of it, neither will I, and I then followed his lordship's advice (writes Mr. Knight). So now my lord shall a cheerful and hearty obedience be yielded to your commands.

The hatred for the clergy took various forms and patronized divers places without scruple or diffidence. Through all the changes of tolerance or intolerance which at various times in their successive attempts to conciliate the Roman Catholics and not offend the Puritans, Charles II. and James II. rang, they failed to see how utterly subversive of order and regularity such political dodges were, how hard on the clergy, how bad for the best interests of the nation, how detrimental to the work of the church.

While with some evil disposed persons slander and calumny were choice weapons for the discomfiture and ruin of the parish priest, it is not to be wondered at that a coterie of

worthless fellows, headed by a drunken bailiff and a few ale-house debauchees, should lay in wait for poor old Parson Prince, of Berry Pomeroy, in 1698, and swear away his reputation and his benefice. Yet he "was of a very kindly heart," and when, as in 1719, an opportunity occurred for him to shew his charity and tolerance he wrote thus kindly—"There is in our parish at this time a Roman Catholic as a supposed priest that lyes at the point of death; I desire to know my Lord Bishop his advice and direction, what I am to do as to his burial, whether I may and ought to bury him according to the Liturgie of the Church of England. I desire you to return his lordship's answer by to-morrow night, for if it does not come then I fear it may be too late." Again, Henry Risdon, who gives neither date nor address, writes to the Bishop about the same time to tell him how there is one Mr. Moore, "an ancient and very poor clergyman, disabled by his great age, being above 88, a Roman Catholic, the mentioning of whom I hope your lordship will not take amiss."

At Totnes about this time there appears to have lived a certain Mr. Edmund Elys, whose friendship with the industrious Walker, the author of the "Sufferings of the Clergy," has left us a very curious correspondence as to the position of the Church with regard to Dissent and Nonconformity at that critical period. In return for scraps of news from himself on these matters, he expects information from head-quarters in Exeter and London as to the effect of various tracts and pamphlets lately broached by the schismatic or heretical parties.

A certain Hughes was his pet aversion: from his sermons he makes long extracts: of answer to Delaine's book which he understands makes a great noise, he entreats a copy: and as to "Galpine the First Born of Impudence" and what figure he cuts in town, and as to his mode of speaking among the Noncons. he requests full details.

Mr. Hughes aforesaid had, be it said to his credit, shewed

him great candour and civility in comparison of what he got from Mr. George Trosse. As long ago as 1680 he had asked Mr. Hughes if he could shew any reason why a man might not worship God in Spirit and in Truth in the use of the Common Prayer, and the lamentable conclusion he arrived at is that he only wrangles and prevaricates.

In this Hughes had been much encouraged by Dr. Owen, who asserted in most uncompromising terms that no man can be obliged to abide in the Communion of any Church any longer than is for his edification. But as Mr. Elys feels his end approaching, he pens this affecting letter to his friend, Walker, in a calmer charity but with no less resolution.

I bless God above fourty years I have most earnestly contended for the Faith that was once Delivered to the Saints for the Defence of which there never was so strong a BULWARK as our excellent LITURGIE possessed by any part of Christ's Church Militant here in earth in whose Service my Zeal is more and more Enflam'd. Now I am in the 69th year of my Age. I pray God I may so continue in this Temper that in all my Apprehensions of Death Approaching I may say in my Heart: Lord now Lettest thou Thy Servant, &c.

Dear Bro., I beseech Almighty God to prosper you in all your undertakings, and shall ever remain yours most syncerely Affectionate and faithful Friend and servant,

March 22, 1703. EDMUND ELYS.

In 1683 a certain Pearce had thought it desirable to vindicate the Nonconformists from the charge of having been accessory to the murder of the King. But only a week after, writing from Totnes again, Elys complains of the booksellers who, he had heard, considered him "crack-brained" for once writing very slightingly of Mr. Flavell, and since Calamy gave certain of the Nonconformist preachers such a splendid character, he advocates taking a copy of the list of their names, with a view

to identification. Finally his thoughts became less controversial and he concludes with the happy suggestion:

Oremus invicem ut Salvemur!

His advice also for a long life has some pertinence in the present day:

Omnes tolle curas . . . . . .
Surgere post epulas: somnum fuge meridianum:
. . . . . .
Has bene si serves, tu longo tempore vives.

The neighbourhood of Kingsbridge and the South Hams, no less than the town of Plymouth, had long been notorious hunting grounds for the rabid and resolute opponents of Church Establishment. These vexatious termagants elicited the pamphlets of studious men such as Robert Burscough, in 1692, with his Treatise of Church Government, his Discourse of Schism (1701), and the Unity of the Church and the Separation of Dissenters and their Setting up Churches against the Conforming Churches. But the grievance was of long standing and gross injustice had been undoubtedly done on the inoffensive and helpless by the Church officials, if any credence can be attached to a vivid account of the malicious persecutions which these Dissenters underwent at the end of the seventeenth century.

Many Christians "injuriously and injudiciously called Fanaticks had suffered much from a pretended zeal against Conventicles": under a false charge of murdering informers, nine innocent persons had been arraigned at Exeter Assizes in April, 1671.

It is useless to deny that the Justices of the Peace grossly exceeded their powers and abused their trust. It is no less certain that the meetings which were held were merely a cloak for mischievous improprieties and calculated to lead to a breach of the peace. The before mentioned Mr. John Hicks was an eminent Nonconformist, and therefore a suspected person to

whose house and to whose company none could have any just reason to resort.

Mr. Reynell, a neighbouring magistrate, assisted by Mr. Bear, nicknamed "Cocky," and other "Setters of the same Breed," undertook the unpleasant business of running the preacher and his followers to ground without mercy or compunction.

At Silverton Mr. Justice Sainthill seized Tregoss and sentenced him to treble costs.

Bear, so as to be fully qualified, got himself made a Justice through the influence of the Archbishop and the Earl of Bath. A sort of "Goring's crew" or "God Damme" lot, armed with swords and pistols, they followed Hicks wheresoever he went and broke into houses, acting on their asserted commission from the Bench and the Bishop. With them were associated as assistants "John Roupe, of Chestow, a perjured desperate swearer" and "Walter Campion, a profound Sinke of Lies." They broke into Hicks' house at any time by back door or front, to the peril and danger of women and children whom they treated with scant mercy, insomuch that he had to provide weapons for his defence and had a club "and stelletto or long daggar knife" ready for Campion. One day they would visit Luckham Hillhead: at another, charge Mr. Tooker of West Allington: another raid was made in September on Mr. Burdwood's in Malborough, and thence to Modbury: thence, another day found them at Ashprington, where, because Andrew Helly and his son and daughter and friend were "repeating a sermon," there was sufficient ground in the eyes of the new J.P. for swearing that a conventicle was held and where things were grown to such a height all loyal subjects had cause to fear rebellion, though the logical deduction arrived at by Mr. T. Carew, J.P., that the presence of a great number of spittoons in the house of Searle, at Dartington, involved indisputably "a company and hence a conventicle," is certainly very remarkable.

Ironically applied to the position of these persecuted christians, in the opinion of their tyrannical oppressors was it not an excellent axiom?

Posita circumstantia rei, ponitur res ipsa!

Was it not true that Church doors had actually been broken down that the pulpits might be occupied by the Nonconformist evangelists?

Had not Mr. Hole had his horses harnessed directly after Church on the Lord's day to go and spy out a conventicle at Mr. Hicks'?

Was it possible that justice could be done when no excommunicate person could serve on a jury? The Bench was packed with Churchmen and Cavaliers.

At Exeter no justice was to be had, Mr. Butler, J.P., the great *ThomoBedlamus*, like an eagle at its prey, ruthlessly inflicting fines of £20.

When a distraint was made, goods in excess of value were seized and destroyed.

Mr. Polwhele, that terrible Fulminoso, 'anhelated nothing but threatening cruelty' against the Fanaticks, so that when Hicks appealed at the Sessions from a fine it was just doubled.

At Lanrake, Mr. Jasper Hicks, an aged and Reverend Divine, had 'highly enraged a young Levite (Mr. Windle) of jejune and immature braines.'

His punishment would probably be exemplary.

At Derwood, near Exon, some of these unlucky Dissenters met in a wood not far from Upton Pynes when suddenly a number of clubmen, headed by the parson's son, rushed out upon them and they were brought before Justice Tuckfield.

Finally, Mr. "Cocky" Beare added this above all, "that he sent a young man of Kingsbridge to the common gaol for not coming to Common Prayer when there was none."

A writer of the same school—whose pupils had invariably graduated in the tripos of blasphemous perjury and misrepre-

sentation—prefaces his graphic tale of Loyalist iniquities by the observation that 'the Devil hath been the author of all mischief from the worlds infancie' and then goes on to relate how a certain Jos. Buxford, of Bow, having been apprenticed to a woolcomber at Crediton and misliking his employment was being taken on the road by his father when they met a carrier who took charge of the lad. They had, however, scarcely gone a few yards when the carrier turns out to be the Devil himself on a black horse. The lad is whipt up into the air and flies over London and other large cities which look smaller than cottages and sees horrible sights. He beheld, he declared, Sir Peter Ball, one of the Commissioners of Exon, lying all along after a strange manner, and suffering terrible tortures, while he cried out: Woe, woe unto me that I ever undertook so unjust a cause. Preparations were also being made for Grenville and Goring. Lastly appeared Lady Dalkeath, nurse to the young princess Henrietta, then lying at Bedford House, in Exeter, while many more of the Cavalier persuasion were undergoing unspeakable torments.

Eventually this precious Aladdin was found by two husbandmen under a hedge at Cannon Lee (alias Canon Leigh), where the ruins of the ancient nunnery are still to be seen, between Holcombe Rogus and Burlescombe, in a sorry state of filth.

He had, indeed, enlisted in the king's service and was making his way home after the disaster at Langport Moor. But to improve the opportunity, it is related, not only that Mr. Jonathan Ganwell, "a very godly man" gave him some excellent admonition but 'the noveltie thereof, that is of the tale—was much admired even by Major-General Massie.'

Nor was this enough to convince the unbelievers, for as the troopers went along the road in this neighbourhood the maleficent carrier again appeared and killed three of "the Malignant Party," and there was "a noisome sent of Brimstone."

In all probability this sulphurous story was merely an excuse

for making public the following singular statement, that, on Nov. 18, 1648, 'a large box of reliques was found with a great crucifix in the wall which the Cavaliers, *the champions of Antichrist*, had built for strengthening of the porch of Tiverton Church.'

En passant, those who desired to sup on horrors might purchase also at that time "Bloody News from Devonshire: murder of four children at Combe by their father, on March 30, 1694." Archdeacon Lake also has left us a curious note of his visit to Exeter Gaol, where Barnes, a Presbyterian, was lying under sentence of death for aiding and abetting in the murder of the postman Morrice, between Honiton and Exeter. This misguided unfortunate confessed that for two hours before he became accessory to the cruel deed he had been reading the Scriptures and praying with his children and assured the astonished divine that he had for many years had full assurance of acceptance with God and was even at that moment perfectly satisfied as to his salvation. This worthy dignitary whose equanimity appears to have been, on one occasion, seriously affected by the boisterous manner of Registrar Atherton, at Honiton, had evidently very clear notions as to the need of a careful preparation for the Holy Eucharist, judging from his too little known *Officium Eucharisticum*, and was unquestionably distressed when, while acting as Court Chaplain at St. James in 1678, he heard how the Lady Anne had in communicating drunk twice or thrice from the Chalice from sheer ignorance, owing to want of proper instruction from Dr. Compton, Bishop of London.

To elicit any affection or respect for self, or for the sacred offices, or house of God, was apparently beyond the power of some of the best intentioned of the parochial clergy.

The Church of Kilkhampton in its solemn grandeur, dignity and solid strength, could scarcely, we should have hoped, have

been the scene of such a disgraceful scrimmage as is related by the Vicar in 1719.

PORTA CELI is the sculptural suggestion of the beautiful promise to be fulfilled within these noble walls, but far otherwise was the temper of the people and their treatment of things divine.

The reason of my writing to you is this, complains the curate-in-charge, one Mr. Guard: Some few months ago we had a wedding in our Parish Church, many people behaved themselves so irregular that, after the marriage rites were finished, I sent for some at my house, desiring them to be civil in the House of God for the time to come. Since then they have been much worse two or three times, so that I took occasion to speak to them publickly in the Church, telling them they behaved themselves as if they were at a wake (or revel as it is commonly called in our country), and if they did not behave themselves better for the future I would take care of them elsewhere. Yesterday I married another couple—very honest reputable people; as soon as they were got into the Church there were near 100 people (80 more than I ever saw on a prayer day), in a little time after I began they made such a noise that I could not hear the response of either, running from seate to seate, spitting and the like. As soon as I came at the Communion Table there was a bustle in the Church and rattling as if there had been 10 carpenters at work, the men throwing off their hats and wigs from each other, the women pulling off one another's capps, still making a noise that I could hardly distinguish my own voice, in short I thought they really would have pulled down all the seats in the Church.

Baptisms, they almost tho' not quite so rude.

I desire to let me have an answer from you; I am resolved not to marry or baptise any day but on Sunday (when there is a full congregation) till I hear from you.

One came just now and tells me that it was always a custom

to make such *rendezvous* and that they will always do it, for they value (as they say) neither the Bishop nor his Court.

If you want the names of some of them send me word by post. None of them are of great credit or reputation, being shoemakers, tailors, &c., and women from 10 to 60 years of age. Direct to me at or near Stratton, by way of Holsworthy, Devon.

SETH WARD, BISHOP, A.D. 1662.

CHAPTER XIII.

The two resolutions which had passed the Upper House in the last week of January, 1689, fairly represented the general feeling of the English nation, on the day two months previous, when William, Prince of Orange, with a very favourable east wind set sail for England, on the morning of Monday, November 5th. As the fog cleared off, the people flocked along the rocky heights of Brixham, watching the fleet which seemed to them the herald of Protestant Religion and Liberty. It was the Commemoration of the Happy Deliverance of King James and the Three Estates of England, and the church bells gladly acknowledged the Divine Providence which had preserved the nation from that most traitorous and bloody-intended massacre by Gunpowder in 1605.

As the ships neared the land, a minister in the fleet, on board a vessel called the "Golden Sun," went up to the top of the uppermost cabin where the colours hang out and pulling a

Bible out of his pocket, opened it wide and flourished it about with his right hand in the sight of all the people, while he shouted out as loud as he could: It is the Prince of Orange that is come, a zealous Defender of the Faith which is Ancient, Catholic, and Apostolic.

The people then, who stood on the brow of the mountain by the sea, shouted for joy and threw their hats into the air. When the greater part of the fleet had come into the bay, boats were ordered to bring the Prince and his guards on shore, and with Marshal Schomberg and a goodly number of Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, the future king of England marched up the little town with colours flying, trumpets sounding, and drums beating.

The Prince, however, appears to have had some doubt as to his reception, for, according to an account of his landing, jealously preserved by representatives of an old Brixham family called Varwell, before he ventured to set foot on English land, he called out to enquire if he was welcome. After a little parley the reply was affirmative, and the Prince cried out: If I am then, come and carry me ashore. Immediately a little man plunged into the water and carried him triumphantly ashore to the steps of the pier. The story proceeds that the same worthy little man gave the Prince his first night's lodging in his humble abode and rode bare headed before him to Newton Abbot and Exeter, services for which he received generous promises of honorable reward, never—as it subsequently turned out—to be fully realized.

About 15,400 strong, the Dutch forces marched along the narrow lanes of Churston, Paignton, Cockington and Kingskerswell, the Prince sleeping, it is said, one night at the Crown and Anchor Inn, just outside the wall of the old palace tower.

The country people received the invaders with much kindness and lavished on them the products of the county in the shape of cartloads of apples. Greeted *en route* with applause,

prayers for their success and eager enquiries for the Declaration of His Highness, the Prince arrived at Ford House, near Newton Abbot, the residence of Sir W. Courtenay, who cautiously absented himself but left directions that all should be hospitably lodged and feasted. Thence, while the Prince rested two days, Dr. Burnet, with four troops of horse and Lord Mordaunt, was sent into Exeter, not before the busy-body Burnet had read from the ancient cross in the market place at Newton the famous Declaration, as we learn from a contemporary diary, with undaunted resolution, in a loud and audible voice :—

William Henry, by the Grace of God, &c., &c.

When the people heard the Prince of Orange's name mentioned, they crowded about the reader in a prodigious manner at the risk of their lives till he called out : God bless and preserve the Prince of Orange : to which they answered with one heart and voice ; Amen, Amen. Burnet was hustled away to a chamber near : the windows were shut, and the doors locked and bolted, the people thereof pressing him to eat and drink : many accepted their good cheer and he in return at their earnest request spared them three copies of the Declaration and then went to call on Mr. John Reynell the minister, whose consent, after some formalities, he obtained to the bells being rung. Mr. Reynell's remark, on his delivering the keys, was not insignificant of the caution shewn by a good many, on the approach of the Prince : Sir, for my own part, I am ready to serve His Highness in any way, but of my own accord cannot give the keys ; but you know you may command them or anything else in my house in the name of the Prince of Orange, and then I will readily grant it.

That there were, however, persons of very different mind in sight of the fleet on that memorable 5th Nov., we learn from a priest, the Chaplain at Tor Abbey, who (in the words of the old writer) being on the top of the house and espying the

commotion in the bay, fondly believed that another Armada had come to deliver the kingdom from the Protestant heretics.

At the Cathedral Church the welcome offered to the Prince was hardly calculated to encourage him. Bishop Lamplugh had fled after exhorting his clergy to loyalty to their lawful King, James II., who came no further than Salisbury, and promptly fled on hearing of the Prince's approach.

The Cathedral Clergy however, nine in number, nominated their proctors with a view to the arrangement of affairs during their absence and came and went as they listed.

The Prince's entry into the city was magnificently conducted, and so far as outward show and pomp were signs of popular favor, naught was lacking. Macaulay has done justice to the scene as Dr. Burnet did to himself, and the occasion, by occupying the Bishop's throne, from which he read the Declaration after the Te Deum had been sung and Divine Service finished.

The Prince, acting on Burnett's advice, repaired again to the Cathedral on the following Sunday, resolved to give his assumption of power every religious and public sanction and solemnity, Burnett preaching from Psalm 107.

The wealthier and official personages of the City and Church held aloof, as did the gentlemen of Devon, excepting Mr. Burrington, of Sampford, a Major in the Militia, but the poorer class and the commercial community spoke more favourably of the Princes intentions.

Anxiety taking the place of confidence, he was on the point of relinguishing his design when Lord Colchester with some troops arrived. The moral effect of this accession to his party was to draw many of the county gentlemen more speedily to his standard, and at the proposal of Sir Edward Seymour, the Recorder, they assembled in the Cathedral and subscribed the following decelaration : That they had joined with the Prince of Orange for the Defence of the Protestant Religion and for

the maintaining of the Ancient Government and the laws and liberties of England, &c., and do engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince of Orange, and to one another, to stick firm in this cause in the defence of it, and never to depart from it until our religious laws and liberties are so far secured to us in a free Parliament that we shall be no more in danger of falling under Popery and Slavery. "The cursed attempts of Papists and other bloody men" became the subject of an additional obligation by which all those associated on this occasion undertook to pursue any who attempted the life of the Prince "with the utmost severity of a just revenge to their ruin and destruction."

This was an amiable document, given under hand and seal in the Cathedral Church of S. Peter, Exon, the 17th Nov., 1688—a most paradoxical comment on the consecutive connection of Royal patrons who *en passant*, at various times since the days of the Confessor, sat down and wrote their names beside the altar of this noble Church. The clergy ignored the whole proceeding, their allegiance being unequivocal to James II., or their indifference supreme so long as they were not personally interfered with, each in his own parochial paradise.

But the beginning of the 18th century was marked by a less tolerant policy towards the adherents of the Roman Church, and while the Act against Apostasy was passed in 1697, in 1700, a Royal proclamation declared that all Popish Priests and Jesuits should be banished from the country, Papists not taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance nor subscribing the declaration against Transubstantiation six months afterwards, being incapable of purchasing and inheriting land or ecclesiastical patronage, and, though the act was not rigorously enforced, the court took cognisance of such offences and demanded replies from the parochial clergy to such inquiries.

Thus, in July, 1706, Charles Veale, Rector of Iddesleigh, in the Deanery of Great Torrington, writing to the Bishop,

certifies that there is neither Papist nor reputed Papist inhabiting nor residing within his parish, and that the presentation is not in the hands or belonging unto any Papist nor reputed Papist. And also that there is here no School in the donation or disposition of any such Papist nor of any in trust for them.

During this century the heart of the nation was spasmodically attacked by rapidly recurring panics as to the safety of the Protestant succession by the possible success of foreign invasions or political coalitions.

Thus when in 1767, inquiry was made of all the beneficed clergy as to the Roman Catholics living in their parishes, it is not a little instructive to take haphazard the accounts which they give in reply.

From a small and obscure but beautifully situated village on the bright cliffs of South East Devon, writes Joseph Hall to say that so far from any Papist or reputed Papist existing in his parish, 'There is not one person in it who has not rather an Aversion than the least Liking to the Doctrines of that Church, the errors of it having largely been represented by himself.'

Tiverton could not claim so high an immunity, no less than 15 residents being known as Papists: viz., John Welch, currier; Abraham Mills, tallow chandler; Ruth Lowman, widow; John Tucker, his wife and two children, a woolcomber; William Shamwells, his wife and three children, ropemaker; John Greenway, scrivener; Sarah Greenway, spinster. In another more explicit account, the name of Benedictus Stafford Greenway, is added.

The delicious mellifluence and selfgratification of the Rector of Halberton will not permit of anything but a *verbatim* quotation of his letter on this remarkable occasion, the peroration containing, as it does, a hint for prelates of all times and never more necessary than in this present century.

Right Reverend Prelate,

It gives me a very sensible pleasure and satisfaction to find that ye Right Hon. House of Lords have acted with so beautiful a consistence of character, as they are ye great council of ye Nation, to Advise his Majesty our Most Gracious Sovereign to issue out his Royal Mandate to ye two Metropolitans, signifying it to be his Majesty's pleasure that they should give directions to all the Bishops, their Suffragans, in ye two provinces of Canterbury and York, to procure from the Parochial clergy in their respective Dioceses as correct and complete lists as can be obtained of the Papists or reputed Papists within ye same, a plan so judiciously concerted by ye Nobility and addressed to ye Throne on ye 22nd day of last May, cannot fail of answering ye most sanguine expectations of every true friend to our happy constitution of Church and State, as it will indisputably counteract ye sly tho' artfully contrived schemes of those emissaries of ye Church of Rome who (like their Father ye Devil) are continually going about, seeking whom they may devour; to shew my hearty concurrence with those distinguished patriots in ye glorious cause of Religion and liberty, and at ye same time to act in pursuance of your Lordships directions, I have made a most exact and regular survey of my Parish, reviewed it over and over again in my mind; and yet can find (which gives me great pleasure and satisfaction), but one Papist in my District, tho' it be large, populous and extensive: and her name is Mrs. La Roche, wife of Mr. John La Roche, who have resided for several years in ye same, and here I should have concluded my Epistle, but gratitude will not suffer me to pass by in silence your late gracious declaration relative to ye Inferior clergy, viz., that your Lordship would make a decent provision for them according to seniority, as Livings should fall in your gift, and as I have been this very month in orders thirty and seven years, do

flatter myself yt I stand a very good chance for Preferment from that Quarter.—John Gilberd.

A note enclosed, contains an apology for not sending in the christian name of Mrs. La Roch, which not without great difficulty he had discovered, with the assistance of the Excise man of Halberton, from whom the precious secrets were extracted after evening service. It is Louise: she is 30 years of age: has resided here 3 years and 7 months: her title must be spinster (I suppose): her husband bears the character of a gentleman.

Thus much for Mr. Gilberd of Halberton.

Nor were the Peculiars of the Bishop free from Papists, as Mr. Samuel Belfield proved on August 25th, 1767.

In Stoke Gabriel and Marldon though there was not one, the family of Richard Rositer, day labourer, supplied three, all of this profession from their birth, as also were Sarah, wife of John Keast, and Sarah, wife of Richard Blackstone, at Paignton.

So at Crediton, another of the Bishop's Peculiar Jurisdictions, a medical man was found, called John Avery, a surgeon and apothecary, 32 years of age: he professed openly his allegiance to the Roman Church.

In the parish of Chudleigh, we find, as might have been expected, a large number of persons, in all probability of old Roman Catholic families, members of the establishment of Lord Clifford, of Ugbrooke Park. These Mr. Gilbert Burrington with much method divides into sexes and adds details in columns, containing the ages, occupations and length of residence, the last of the males on the list being Joseph Key, aged 35, who as colt breaker had been three years in service with his Lordship. The resident "reputed" Priest, who was 30 years old, had been there but two months. His name was Reeves. A foot note states that subsequent to the

list being drawn up a son was born to Lord Clifford, in November.

If we travel to the Cathedral City we find in the Precincts of the Close that there were but two Roman Catholics, Elizabeth Gulley, a mantlemaker, aged 80, and Richard her son, aged 40, a staymaker.

So wrote Dean Milles, testifying also through his curate at Braunton, that there he could hear of but one, Francis Nicks, whom he thought to be "a Professor of the tenets of the Church of Rome: about 70 years of age: a resident there 30 years: keeping an Ale house for the support of himself and his wife. His notions is confined, I am satisfied to himself alone, without doing injury to the orthodox Persuasions of his wife and family."

There is a curious ring about the concluding clause of this somewhat pedantic letter.

"This Account I am enabled to transmit to your Lordship, as the true state of the peoples minds under my immediate care with respect to the Xtian Religion."—Signed, Emanuel Way.

And surely in these and such like accounts of the parish priests there was but little to excite alarm in the breast of the most rigid Protestant. Thus in 10 years nearly all Acts disqualifying Roman Catholics were repealed.

In Cornwall, possibly, there was more cause for anxiety. Certainly Mr. Charles Guy, Vicar of Padstow, had only to report that seven months ago an old lady, by name Margaret Hearn, aged 60, had come from Ireland on a visit to her son, a professed Protestant; but in the Deanery of Pyder, Mr. Bateman could count as many as 19 professing Roman allegiance in St. Mawgan and 10 in St. Columb Major—for which he is content neither to express alarm nor prejudice.

The families were principally those of Bulger, Jolly, Benny, Menna, and Rawe, mostly of the labouring class, with the

exception of a Mr. Thomas Hanne, at the former town, whom he calls "a Pretender to Physic," and Richard Rawe of the latter town, who is defined as Esquire. Nearly all these persons had been born in these places and lived there from their childhood without molestation or hindrance.

In other parishes members of the Roman Church seem to have been under a *quasi* surveillance from the clergyman, for Mr. Walmsley, Rector of Falmouth, gives a remarkably circumstantial account of three who lived there. Joseph Amardo, an Italian, had been a servant to Captain Prole, late a commander of one of H.M. Lisbon Pacquet Boats, but having married an English girl, professed himself a Protestant and came to Church. The second case was that of the wife of Edward Kendall, a clock maker and organist of the Parish Church, who, however, now repudiated what 'she was convinced were the dangerous errors held by the Church of Rome.'

'There was also a man who acts as a Physician and calls himself William Meagher, who thus accounted for himself. Many years in the service of France, when Mr. Lally was sent into the East Indies, Commander in Chief of the French Troops, he accompanied him in the Post of Surgeon General, and on return, when Lally was thrown into prison, he also was confined in the Bastile and strictly examined as to Lally's conduct abroad. From these facts, and his being a native of Ireland, from whence great numbers of Papist and but few Protestants are known to go into the service of Popish Governments, I suppose it probable he was of ye Romish Faith' The explanation given by Meagher himself was that his father was a Papist but his mother a Protestant, which faith he himself professes and he also comes to church. "I am still in doubt where to class him."

The Parish of St. Ervan rejoiced in one solitary maiden woman, aged 55, called Mrs. Mary Anne Gill.

John Penrose, Vicar of Gluvias and Penryn, knew of but

two of this Faith, Renné Bonnet, 50, a dancing master and Anne his wife. When they left, "two neutrals, Boys, were left behind, apprenticed to tradesmen and duly attend the Public Worship of the Church."

The service of the Lisbon mail boats was responsible for another foreigner, Augustine Belletti, aged 60, resident at Milor for 25 years, where also Margaret Advani, an old servant maid, lived.

At times the Bishop, even after writing two letters, met with a rebuff, for from Lanivet the Rev. Thomas Nevil warned his Lordship that, though there was one Papist, by name Charles Hand, there, a farmer, "Mr. Hunt, of Lanhydrock, says your Lordship has no jurisdiction in that parish."

'Crantock,' wrote Mr. Richard Budd, 'had no semblance of even a reputed Papist, but at St. Columb Minor liveth one Jane Church, widow, aged 62, with a leasehold estate worth £25 a year, and with her lives her daughter Margaret Rickards, aged 35, Relect of Enoder Rickard, late gunner of a man of war, with a pension of £10 a year: here they had lived 20 years.' In Cornwall therefore, though there was a large number of persons of "the alien faith," there was assuredly little cause for fear, 'the professional positions and habits of these people being both harmless and honest.'

From none of the letters which reached the Bishop at this time should we gather that the Church of Rome had a very large number of open adherents in the West. The following represent the views and experiences of some of the North Devon clergy.

The family of Bulger seems to have been long established in the west, for we further hear of a Mr. Bulger and his wife at Bideford in 1706, but the value of their estate was differently stated. The Vicar of Alverdiscott, Nathaniel Keith, says its value is £20 per annum, but it was mortgaged to Mr. Smith, a merchant of Bytheford (whose book keeper, Geffrey Power,

was also a Roman Catholic), while the Vicar, Mr. Charles Bedford, declares it unknown. Alverdiscott had been exempt from all Papists till quite recently, when Mr. Courtney Moor came as a sojourner, and his wife, Mrs. Mary Moor, was a reputed Papist, as was also her waiting maid, Henry Dunacombe. Bideford rejoiced in a tailor called Lynch, a married man whose estate "*val.* 16 pd. *per Ann.*"

At this time Nathaniel Keith had also care of Newton Tracey, but had nothing to report *ad rem.*

In this same Deanery of Hartland, the parish of Alwington counted among its inhabitants a yeoman, by name Salisbury, whose estate was worth £20 a year and he holds it on two lives: his establishment consisted of his wife Ann and three daughters, Ann, Mary and Prudence.

From Meeth, another out-of-the-way village, high pitched on the hills between Hatherleigh and Torrington, the Rector, Thomas Lee, could only say that, though no Papist dwelt there, the advowson belonged to Edward Cary, Esq., of Torr Abbey, who is also possessed of an estate in fee in the same parish, of the yearly value of £120, but all leased out for the term of 99 years, determinable on one, two or three lives.

The Rector of Littleham, near Bideford, had a more pertinent case to report, for he writes, "as last year, so now, I present Leonard Gifford and his wife Mary as Romish recusants. He is the only son left of the Giffords of Lancras (which was sold to Sr. John Rolle). In his brother's time he used the seas as a mariner (as I am told), and now rents an estate of 18 or £20 per ann. in my parish. He hath neither advowson, donation, benefice nor school in his disposition (as I know of). He was summoned to appear the 9th of this instant, at Holsworthy, before Col. Alscott and Col. Prideaux, and did then read and subscribe the declarations according to the statute made in the 1st year of King W. & M." Signed, James Cooke.

In this part of the Diocese, therefore, there was no need for

panic. The members of the Roman Church were insignificant with one exception, possessed of no large means, quiet, offenceless, and principally of the gentler sex.

There are, however, cases where if a minister met with factious opposition he did not hesitate to protest and avail himself of lawful means of self defence.

Thus, Peter Bellenger, minister of Topsham writes, Febr. 22nd, 1714, that pursuant to the 113 Canon—giving authority that ministers may present of themselves in their parishes and churches such things as shall be by them thought to want and require reformation—he presented Mr. John Ewings, of Topsham, one of the present churchwardens, for locking up the vestry door of the Parish Church wherein the surplice was and is kept, and keeping and detaining the key thereof, whereby the minister who officiated on Jan. 31st, last year, and 4th Febr., was forced in his publick ministrations to read prayers, to baptize and to bury without any surplice, as by the 58th Canon he was obliged to wear.

Nor was the Rural Dean of Aylesbeare Deanery satisfied with the Vicar, Mr. John Knight, for he presented him for officiating at Newton Poppleford without a surplice in 1721, and the Vicar of St. Giles-in-the-wood resented strongly the parsimonious indecency of his wardens, in that they provided "a surplice no better than a scandel and as coarse as a waggoners frock," and at Zeal Monachorum, in 1728, had brought neither bier, bier cloth nor an hood for the minister.

What could be said for those in charge of Holbeton? The Membland Isle was much broken. What of Wembury? The Communion Table *was eaten*? Could the Church of Dodbrook be considered in good order whereas they had no Flagon, no Acts of Parliament, no Table of Degrees, and the Parsonage was ruinous and uninhabitable. Camborne—no carpets for Communion Table, no linen: bells cracked. Nor in this last respect only was Buckland Filleigh deficient, for they had a

most scandalous pulpit, desk and table, while in the Deanery of Tiverton, at this same date (1721), the houses were out of repair, surplices torn, chancels in ruins. Not the least offence however, at Ashcombe, was the fact that the prayer book was unbound, and the greatest crying evil that it lacked the prayers for King George.

Where doubts had arisen or charges been made of disloyalty against the Vicar, nothing would satisfy the crown but a certificate under the hands of the overseers, wardens and other responsible persons of the parish, and this they gave on behalf of the Rector of St. Dominick, with apparent unanimity, in the days of William III., for on April 5th, 1696, 16 inhabitants wrote that they could certify that "Thomas Mills, Rector, hath never omitted to pray for King William, King of England, in the publick prayers of the Church, either on sundays or holy dayes, since his inauguration."

The clergy who were thought not to qualify themselves upon the Revolution, that is to say who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III. and to pray for him were, in the Diocese of Exeter, according to one account, these:

Dr. T. Crosthwait, Prebendary of Exon.
Mr. Rob. Manley, Rector of Poderham (*sic.*).
Mr. Edward Ellies, Rector of East Allington.
Mr. Abednego Seller, Vicar of S. Charles, Plimouth.
Mr. C. Hutton, Rector of Aplime (*sic.*).
Mr. W. Nicholls, Curate of Egford (*sic.*).
Mr. ——, Curate of Tiverton.
Mr. Lewis Southcombe, Rector of Rose Ash, Penitent.
Mr. Thomas ——, Sen. Canon of Exon, Non-Abjuror.
Mr. James Beaufort, Rector of Lanteglos.
Mr. J. Polenheel (!), Rector of Newland.

This list, it is quite clear, defied the reader's powers and knowledge of West Country topography and nomenclature.

Calamy, however, gives the numbers of those who conformed

as follows: in Co. Devon 112: at certain places (in same Co.) 21: afterwards conformed 8: in Co. Cornwall 46: afterwards 5.

The case of the Rector of Rose Ash, *alias* AshRafe, is an extremely valuable subject for those who admire the principles of the author of *Ductor Dubitantium.*

His is a curious example of an anomalous conformity.

He never attended the Church on the appointed Fast days: he could not observe them: he went behind the Church and conversed with the clerk, but nothing could induce him to pray for the new Sovereigns, William III. and Queen Anne.

Eventually being sore puzzled how to retain his benefice and conform, he applied to Kettlewell and Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, Vicar-General of Archbishop Sancroft. A penitential confession was drawn up with a supplicatory epistle, containing anonymous retractions and professions of repentance.

This satisfied the King and Government, who generally speaking had no desire to proceed to deprivation. Southcombe at the same time tried by an act of mental reservation to save his conscience for he signed this singular production with a protestation, and then was scarcely relieved, for his conscience even then charged him with perjury and having broken the 3rd Commandment.

One thing, however, he could and did glory in: "he had not used the new petitions."

These were indeed times of trepidation and national anxiety when it was necessary for the king to tune the pulpits of the Established Church for loyal harmonies, and thus, on the eve of the disastrous battle at Preston-Pans, Nicholas Clagett addressed the following letter to his clergy:—

It being but too well known that there is now actually begun a Traiterous War, within the Bowells of this Kingdom, by the inveterate enemies of our Peace and Tranquility, in Favour of a Popish Pretender, and that a Foreign Invasion for the same

purpose is apprehended ; and it being my firm Persuasion that it greatly concerns all of us to bestir ourselves, with all possible diligence, in our several stations, at this time, for the Preservation of our Religion and Liberties, now attempted to be ravished from us ; I do on this very important occasion with the utmost earnestness, recommend it to yourself and every one of my clergy, that in this Critical Juncture, both in your Sermons from the Pulpit, and in your Private Conversations, you make it your Study and Business to excite in the minds of all under your care an Hearty Zeal for our happy constitution in church and state and for the Blessings thereof which we now enjoy under his most Gracious Majesty King George the Second. And this you cannot promise yourself to do more effectually than by setting before them, in the strongest Light, the vast difference which there is between the Protestant Religion and a Free Government, on the one side and Popery and Arbitrary Power on the other. Exeter, Sept. 19, 1745.

How the popular feeling ran in this century may be tolerably well interpreted by the use made of the bells of a parish church, as entered in the churchwarden's accounts of South Molton.

Take for instance the following :—

1710. August 19. Pd. Ringers 5s. when the good news came that king Charles (of Germany) had beat the Spaniards.

For the second time 10s.

1712. March 23. Dr. Sacheverell's suspension expired.

May 14. Peace with France proclaimed.

Pd. Ringers 20s.

Child baptized Sacheverell.

1715. Defeat of Scotts by Duke of Argyll. Pd. 10s. to Ringers.

Pd. to young Ringers for ale to encourage them £1 4s.

1716. End of Rebellion. Pd. Ringers 16s.

1718. Spent in severall places when we went in procession to view the bounds of the Parish, £3 17s. 6d.

Pages might be filled with similar not uninstructive items. Until 1718 Fox's Book of Martyrs appeared every year in the inventory of Church goods, then in the custody of the parish clerk, but after 1729 it vanishes from the account.

The mention of Dr. Sacheverell in this and many other similar accounts shews beyond doubt the barely concealed dislike among a large section of the people for the Government of the day and "the happy Revolution." At such times as these the clergy were ever under the suspicion of abetting the friends of the Pretender, or in some way dallying with foreign emissaries whose purpose was to work confusion in the Church.

The distant villages of Cornwall had always fostered many partisans of the banished line of Stuart, and unless a vigilant watch was kept upon the insolent aggressions of the Nonconformist sections it would be difficult to ensure the safety of the Church no less than of the Crown. Thus from all quarters there was fear of attack. The clergy are hereabouts alarmed at the Citation—says the Bishop's confidential secretary in 1708. And well they might be if all had lost their letters of Deacons' orders as had Mr. Perkinson, Vicar of Lanteglos juxta Foy. Mr. Harris also—hereafter mentioned—had been cited to obtain his licence for keeping a school as also for his preaching, though he had clearly ingratiated himself with Bishop Trelawny before his retirement to Pelynt.

"The Chapple of Looe, tho' it be in ye parish of St. Martins, is not acknowleged by ye Rector to be a daughter church, nor will he allow one farthing towards the maintenance of a Curate there, the town is very populous and was formerly a nest of dissenters, and would be so agen in a little time was there not a settled Curate in ye place, for there are dissenters of all denominations live in it, and you know tis a mile from ye parish church. Upon these considerations My Lord when Bp. of Exeter repaired and fitted up the neglected ruinous Chapple, appointed a clergyman to officiate in it, and out of his own

Charity gave him a Salary, which he continues still to do, of £40 per ann., so that ye Chapple, which was formerly without endowment and tumbling, is now fair and handsom and throng'd with people.

Now since the Rector disowns having any thing to do with the Chapple, and my Lord hath no Legal Right to nominate or appoint a Curate to officiate there, 'tis to be hoped that Mr. Harris, who at present officiates in it, will be excused from taking out a licence to preach and especially since he formerly had a licence to serve ye curacy of St. Clere and is now Rector of St. Keyne, within five miles of Looe. You will observe he doth not in ye least encroach upon ye Rectors profits since he doth nothing but preach on Sundays and read prayers on Wednesdays and Frydays and the salary is entirely precarious."

In this matter politics, perhaps, had no weight. In any case the restoration of this ancient chapel and the provision of a stipend for a curate speak well for the fatherly affection which Bishop Trelawny felt for a parish where the Rector was already overburdened with work and the Church was daily losing ground.

Later on in the century there are indeed many proofs that indifference and spiritual neglect were not universally triumphant, as the following account of the confirmations held by Bishop Keppel, at Honiton, in 1764, assuredly testify.

The numbers confirmed at Honiton, on Thursday, May 17th, were as follows :—From Bicton, 22 : Combraleigh, 15 (2 more of this parish were confirmed on Friday 18th) : Cleyhidon, 27 : Colaton Rawleigh, 31 : East Budleigh, 70 : Harpford, 8 : Hemiock, 72 : Loopit, 1 : Otterton, 67 : Sheldon, 4 : Sidmouth, 44 : Venottery, 5 : Yarcombe, 33 (1 more on 18th), Total 399.

On Friday, May 18th, Axminster, 85 : Axmouth, 26 : Awlescombe, 32 : Branscombe, 22 : Bokerel, 47 : Colyton, 57 : Cotleigh, 17 : Dunkeswell, 28 : Fairway, 30 : Membury, 34 : Musbury, 31 : Northleigh, 28 : Ottery St. Mary, 251 : Offwell,

29 : Sidbury, 110 : Stockland (Dorset), 58 : Shute, 22 : Southleigh, 36 : Seaton and Beer, 43 : Salcombe, 20 : Thorncombe, 6 : Uplime, 18 : Upottery, 30 : Widworthy, 18. Total, 1,386.

That is to say, on two consecutive days, 1,785 persons were present in St. Michaels' Church, Honiton, and received at the hands of Bishop Keppel the sacred rite of laying on of hands. Such a repairing of the breach furnishes much food for reflection and astonishment.

Were the parochial clergy awakening to their responsibilities? Had the Spirit of God working through the Wesleys and Whitfield put new life into the hearts of the country folk in East Devon? What had become of the "frenzied Phanaticks" in that old market town on the rippling Otter, that nearly 2,000 of their customers round about should pour into the long, wide street and publicly make their profession of Faith in the Parish Church? Who was sufficient for such a function? Did the Right Reverend Father in God, Frederick, lay his hands or hand on the head of each of the kneeling confessors severally?

These and many other like questions suggest themselves to the thoughtful Churchman as he contemplates this great throng seeking the blessing of the Church of Christ at a time when all her voice was supposedly mute and her faculties numb. Whatever we may think of the lamentable deadness of her womb in these critical days of weakness, there were curious signs—though apparently trifling—which shew that there was yet hope and promise of a brighter birth and brilliant activity. It may seem but a small thing that all irregularities were not condoned, but the tone of the following letter shews that such hope actuated the watchful authorities of order and discipline.

This first note requires explanation :

"What did the Churchwardens of Bideford mean by obtaining a bond or writing to be indemnified as to expense, before they ventured to break open the Church? Did not the Churchwardens obtain such a writing?" And as to the

following reply to the Bishop. The custom of making proclamations in Church may have been of great benefit to the people at times when it was imperatively necessary that injunctions of great importance in national, legal or religious matters should be extensively and promptly made known.

Such notices may have been more effective than under the present system, and when there was no daily press, but the danger of abuse and disorder was undeniable.

If, as occurred at Redruth on one occasion, a farmer sent his servant to announce to the Vicar when he would reap his oats and other crops, and this was repeatedly announced Sunday after Sunday (on account of delays to the harvest caused by the bad weather) in the Church, porch, or cemetery, serious mischief and offence would and did arise. The advisers of the Bishop were clearly of opinion that the authorities at Bideford had offended in another respect, and yet according to their own account they had merely observed an ancient custom when they thus addressed the Registrar, Nicholas Geare.

Oct. 10, 1766.

Sir,—

We received your favour of yesterday, signifying his Lordship's commands that we do not suffer or permit any publication or proclamation to be made in this Church except it be done by the Minister agreeable to your former letter; and alledging his Lordship had been informed that we continued to permit publications and that publications had been made since the Receipt of it.

We beg leave to reply that we conceive your former letter enjoined only to take notice of publications that may be made in the Church in the time of divine Service, contrary to the Rubrick, and not of any that may be made after it, which is the reason we did not trouble his Lordship or you with an affair which we did not apprehend to be contrary to the Rubric or a part of our duty to take notice of.

The publication of last Sunday (notifying the Court and Session to be held on Thursday), was made agreeable to ancient custom, by one of the Sergeants at Mace, but we assure his Lordship that this publication was not made until divine service was ended in the evening and the Minister gone from the desk.

We hope his Lordship will take this as an answer before we can do ourselves the honor of waiting on him, which we shall do, agreeable to his injunctions at the time directed.

We are, dr. Sir, Your very humbled Servants,

WILLIAM SPENCER
CHARLES ROGERS } Churchwardens.

During the long intervals which occurred between the different visitations an immense quantity of difficult questions on testamentary, disciplinary and ceremonial, no less than political affairs, arose which required prompt settlement, and the shelves of the Registry groan with countless tags and files of correspondence which no human being will in all likelihood ever attempt to fathom or peruse. The attempt would be alike useless and extravagant. The glimpses already given of diocesan life will suffice for a just historical estimate.

An amusing instance of official ignorance and fear of presumption deserves to be recorded.

Writes John Cooke from Trelawne—whither he had probably accompanied the Bishop—on July 13th, 1716, to Edward Cooke, his cousin, in the Close of St. Peter's. Dear Bro: I pray you tell me how I must write if ye Lady be a widow but not if a maid, by Mondays post at farthest, let me know ye law term for that. I think it is spinster.

It is undoubtedly true, as Convocation declared, that the first decades of the eighteenth century were characterised by the excessive growth of infidelity, heresy and profaneness, but superstition, ignorance and fanaticism had for more than a century availed themselves of the general confusion to play havoc with the religious feelings and common discretion of almost every class of the community.

As a fair specimen of the abstruse and extravagant absurdities of current literature we may instance the tract of Henry Hingeston, printed at Exon in 1703, called "A Dreadful Alarm upon the Clouds of Heaven, mixed with love, in three parts: (i.) An Address to England; (ii.) intituled a Vindication of an often deliberated and confirmed Vision; (iii.) an Expostulation directed to the Archbishop and dedicated to the Queen.

The extraordinary notions also that possessed the minds of even well-meaning educated men are fairly illustrated by such a work as "The Exeter Guide (1715) to Happiness, both temporal and eternal, being a very complete Manual, and convenient (Before, At and After), for the Feast of Feasts."

The whole title defies full description: be it enough to say that there is an intense spirit of piety throughout, spoilt by what we should now consider a dash of unmistakeable snobbishness, as when the author says on his prefatory title page:

"By a Church of England man. Gentleman born (descended from the eldest line of a very ancient Saxon and Norman family, &c.), since which have been 2 generations without any blot on their Scutcheon of which 2 have been Knights, 1 a Bishop and 1 a Dean. An Almanack with Lessons for every day is appointed. Printed for Joseph Antony, Exon."

The officials of the Establishment could not however "be held responsible for the Horrible Indignities offered to the Exeter Methodists in their Meeting house in 1745, though the Impartial Hand by which they are narrated, plainly affirms that the Magistrates of the City were worse than those of Ephesus and compare most unfavourably with those of Lancaster and Stafford, where similar disturbances had occurred. The Town Clerk was an inefficient representative of his brother of Ephesian fame. The Presbyterian clergy in this case were much to blame, and as great persecutors suffered from the same wicked spirit as had Laud. The writer confesses that in matters of

this sort "while he upholds the Constitution in matters of Religion, he is governed by the Bible and common sense," since while some asserted that Methodists preach nonsense, some went so far as Archbishop Williams in their opinion that "the Presbyterian Religion was only fit for Taylors and Shoemakers."

"A phanatick Prayer," framed after the fashion of those used by the Rebels, had been printed in February, 1659, addressed to "Lucifer most glorious" and includes a supplication that he will grant "the illuminations of Goodwin, Sterry and Peters." On all sides feeling ran lamentably high, and even men of irrepproachable life condescended to fling hard epithets at those who differed from them in controversy.

It is impossible here to quote all these acrimonious pamphlets and broad sheets, such as "The Innocent Vindicated," "The Fox tarred and feathered."

The preface of the following address is of the plain-spoken order.

"The intemperate zeal of some Professing Christians, both Ministers and people, arising probably from a conceit that they are infallible, has formed in their imaginations a Monster and given it the name of an Arrian, and they apply it to as many Christians as are not of their size." This and the following, with many more of similar vehemence, were printed by Brice, of Exon, Southgate, and shew the pitch to which the storm of *odium theologicum* raised the waves of popular feeling.

The title of the next tract "*Blasphemia Detestanda*, or a caution against the Diabolism of Arius," is a letter from a clergyman of the County to his brother in the City of Exon, 'touching the vile and wretched Arians said to be starting up there.' J. Hallett, however, in his "Caution against Deceivers" confessed that "the Clergy of the Established Church were more Gentlemen than to deal in anonymous accusations."

The following proclamation of the united Ministers of Devon

and Cornwall in the Assembly at Exeter, in May, 1719, is a valuable illustration of the conflicting opinions held at this time.

The following signed the First Article of the Church of England, and while disclaiming all jurisdiction or right over mens' consciences, declared that they could not approve of any pers n being ordained, allowed to preach or recommended to any congregation who would not do the same.

The collective sense of the last September Assembly was, "that there is but one living and true God, &c. Several names absent from this list who subscribe in London. Several candidates on this occasion also not allowed to vote before their ordination."

The Pastors and Ordained Ministers were Nath. Harding, moderator: T. Edgley, scribe: W. Horsham: Jac. Sandarcock: Sam. Wood: T. Walsh: J. Rosewell: Sam. Hall: J. Moore: Deliverance Larkham: J. Powell: Jac. Baylies: R. Evans: Mich. Martyn: Peter Kellow: John Ball: Jelinger Symonds: John Enly: J. Walrond: W. Giles: And. Majendie: G. Bowchier: Sam Short: Henry Atkins: Jos. Eveleigh: J. Seoly: J. Hughes: Pennel Symonds: Peter Baron: Rob. Wood: W Bartlet: R. Glanvill: W. Palk: Ben. Wilts: Jac. Wheeler: Sam. Stodden: H. Brett: Hugh Brown: Eliezer Hancock: Ben. Flavell: Isaac Clark: Cornelius Bond: Alex. Walker: J. Lavington: John Coplestone.

Of ripe scholars there was no abundance in the extreme West, though, judging from the indiscriminate care and attention with which his critical notes on Suidas and the Greek tragedians have been sorted and bound by the authorities of the Bodleian, Mr. John Toup, a Prebendary of Exeter, must have been a most painstaking, elaborate and punctilious student.

No scrap of paper came amiss to his hand: thus the documents, which illustrate local history on one side, are covered with notes on the *verso*.

I, Martha Warne, of West Looe, maketh oath that Alice Roach, of the Boro. of East Looe, was buried in the Church of St. Martin's, within 8 days' of this present date, in nothing but what was made of sheeps woole.

The second, "a printed account of the Fund for the support of Poor Clergymens' Widows and Orphans within the Archdeaconry and Co. of Cornwall," is dated June 16, 1737. A meeting had been held that day at Bodmin and over £200 collected.

Amongst the recipients of this excellent charity are found:

Mrs. Hathaway, 46, widow of Paul H., late curate of Zennor, and 3 children.

Mrs. Jane Oliver, 80, widow of John O., late vicar of Zennor.

Mrs. Mary Pilkinghorn, widow of W. P., late vicar of Euny Lanant, and Idiot daughter.

Deanery of Kerrier.

Mrs. Mary Lanyon, 17, d. of Henry L., late curate of Breage: £10 10s., to be left with the Treasurer till she is apprenticed.

Mr. Carlyon, R. of St. Just, Chairman.

Mr. Howel, R. of Lanreath, Treasurer.

The energies of the Church were now dormant. Her constitution was utterly enfeebled: prostrate and exhausted, she staggered and fell. The moral degradation of the clergy, no less than of the people, was scarcely realised but by the satirist, when a proposal to form a committee on the state of religion was discussed, first at the Archbishop's dining table at Lambeth Palace, in 1743. His Grace though, on his own confession, "not an Archbishop to do nothing," did not think the state of religion worse than it was 20 years ago, but other company coming in the subject dropped, and eventually the committee of the Upper House came to the conclusion that they would make no report beyond the bare statement that they had come

to no resolution. This year (1744) the first Wesleyan Conference was held. It must here be with shame and sorrow confessed that at the very period when the political influence of the Anglican Hierarchy was at its highest point, national virtue was at its lowest depth. Had not the Holy Spirit, Christ's Vicar upon earth, put it into the heart of the Wesleys and of Whitefield to open their mouths boldly, the recovery of the Church of England from her lethargy had been impossible.

That many, however, in Cornwall as in Devon were by no means of like mind with respect to the Church, and did all that lay in their power to override the just discipline of the Canons, could only be expected at a period notoriously opposed to moral or religious restraint.

The poisonous germ so freely active in society under the conditions of the Restoration could not have been thoroughly killed by the most drastic consensus of canonical science.

That, thus, there was a crying need for some stirring of the people, and a missioner of the type of the Baptist, to convince of sin, righteousness and judgment, the courts of the Church and popular conscience alike proclaimed.

The following extract shews, however, the Archidiaconal eye was no less set on clerical sins of omission than on crimes of commission in certain cases:—

Ap 5, 1706. In the Consistorial Court of the Bishop, before Mr. Smith, surrogate, and Francis Oliver, notary public, came Mr. Pagett, Rector of Truro, at the instance of the Bishop.

With a view to avoid a suit and further expense, the judge received a letter from defendant, written with his own hand, in which he confesses that he, the said Mr. Pagett, made a journey from Truro into Oxfordshire to bring his wife and family from thence into Cornwall, where finding his wife ill hee was advised by the Physitians to take the Bath, in his way home hee continued some time and made his journey nigh a

quarter of a yeare before hee returned home to Truro, during all which tyme his Cure was well supplyed in all respects, but confesse hee had not the leave of my Lord Bishopp for his absence, for which hee humbly begs his Lordshipps pardon. And if therein hee hath acted contrary to or offended the Lawe, hee submitts himselfe to ye authority of this Court, quam Epistolam modo exhibitam ac penes Acta reliquit ac fecit fidem se credere epistolam fuisse et esse scriptam et subscriptam propria manu dicti Mr Pagett et Deinde Dominus hujusmodi confessionem et submissionem acceptavit. Interloquendo pronunciavit dictum Pagett incidisse in penam Canonicam et decrevit eum monendum fore ad perimplendum et conservandum de futuro debitam Residentiam suam in Rectoriam suam (!) sub pena juris.

It does not appear, therefore, that absenteeism was easily condoned, nor, from the following notes from Trevaunance, that Thomas Tonkin was prepared to let incest pass unchallenged. In May, 1715, James Yeoman, of Ladock, had married his first wife's sister's daughter and was under prosecution in the Court of the Archdeacon of Cornwall. Old Mr. Frank Blight, of Bodmin, wrote to say that in Archdeacon Drewe's time the case had been argued and dismissed the court, but that he is determined that it shall be again brought up. The defendant was anxious that the Bishop should be ruled by Counsel's opinion as he was very unwilling to part with his wife.

Nothing can be clearer than that the interpretation of the Tables of Affinity, in the eyes of the Court, forbad such a marriage and that, though James Yeoman was in good circumstances, such could not be overlooked

That the neglect of the Holy Communion was still very general, and a source of much anxiety to the parish clergy, is evident from the entries of the Consistorial Courts all through the earlier part of this century.

Galleries for sermon-hearing sprung like monstrous fungi

from the fine old towers and pillars of the parish churches, where base informers—tickled by the tidings of a new theory or with a view to insulting the minister—sat in half-willing weariness to catch something out of his mouth. He said—declared an injured parent—that "my dead son is not an angel in heaven and I know he is."

The altar had long been relegated to an obscure cobwebbed corner and lay with tottering frame and legs beneath a wine-stained apology for a decent covering.

A brief note, however, occurs of a nameless parish where the entries as to notice being given by those desirous of communicating, shews that a sufficient number would be found to receive, with a certain Mr. Burrows, to whom writes 'his poore friend Robert Roupe': "I have sent unto you this note to lett you to understand that there bee very neer twentye that will arrive here at the chappell to-morrow, therefore praying you to come."

A difficult question arose at Gwennap, when James Bishop was Vicar there in 1728, as to whether he could refuse to administer the Sacrament to a person of notorious evil life. He had met with some trouble from "some wicked neighbours who kept a disorderly house near the Church, and whose conduct he had thought proper to report to the Bishop's Registrar, Mr. Cooke." Gout had prevented him from attending the last Visitation, and the Churchwardens had therefore neglected to present. "In consequence of this the offending persons had become very insolent, but on Sunday last, being Trinity Sunday, Sarah the wife of Richard Nicolls presumed to force herself up to the Communion Table in order to receive ye blessed Sacrament. Though I sent my clerk to desire her to depart out of ye congregation, as knowing her to be unworthy to partake of that sacred ordinance, it being but ye evening before yt she and her husband were heard swearing and cursing one another after a very fearful manner and accusing each

other of their lewd practices which they *have been notoriously guilty of, for which reason I refused to give her the Sacrament which she was the more desirous to receive in order to qualify her to be surety to a child that was to be baptized that day :* at which disappointment they are highly affronted as well as at my reading ye Proclamation yesterday against vice, immorality, &c., whereupon the said Richard Nicolls went out of Church before I began my sermon and as I am informed hath threatened not to hear me preach again for one year." The Rector then explains that he is simply fulfilling the Rubrics, and asks for the Bishop's advice; in any case he thinks the prosecution might be put off till he can himself come to Exeter and the Bishop has come home.

On second thoughts he proposes that a process be sent against Nicolls and Sarah his wife, and directed to him, to be left at the Post Office at Penrin. The above authentic account of the difficulties of the parish priest of this period, deserted by his legitimate supporters, and endeavouring to carry out his duties as the law of the Church and of the land directs, may serve as a fair type of many more where even greater obstacles were thrown in the way.

The words of Junius to a nobleman, in 1769, not inaptly describe the opinion of the generality of historians when writing of the clergy of the eighteenth century. "You are so little accustomed to receive any marks of respect or esteem from the public, that if in the following lines a compliment or expression of applause should escape me, I fear you would consider it as a mockery of your established character, and and perhaps an insult to your understanding." But in any case, the words which almost immediately follow this badly concealed insult, speak more truth : "You have done good by stealth."

The work of the Established Church was undoubtedly carried on as it were in secret, for while the world of coarse and sensual debauchery worshipped the Goddess of Fashion in the

orgies of Bath and "the town" and Brighton, and Smollett, Sheridan and Swift pandered as they poetasted to popular prurience, the grace of sweet simplicity and child-like purity found a more lasting and profitable representative in Sir Joshua Reynolds, son of the Rector of Plympton St. Mary. While human depravity found no lack of ingenious exponents and devotees, it is not surprising if in a mixed body of officials spiritual, with limited incomes but countless responsibilities, high calling but natural infirmities, many carried like dead leaves in a winter storm were swept along and dashed by the whirlwind into the weed-grown ditch of scepticism and sensualism.

It was not an age of Church building. Domestic and foreign politics absorbed and excited the popular mind: panics of invasion, financial bubbles, social scandals, men of excellent ambition, statesmen of selfish aim, passed through the century of Hanoverian dynasty and left little to love, less to imitate.

Whether or no the Church ever recover her ancient disciplinary power, it may fairly be asserted that some means of repressing vice by measures persuasive or deterrent is needed to raise the moral tone no less in Lancashire than in Cornwall. The spirit of insubordination which resented 200 years ago all penalties for sins against the seventh commandment, was not at all times so successful as historians, ignorant and indifferent to the original anthentic records of this Diocese, would tell the public.

The loss of 2,000 clergy on S. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, may have been irreparable, but the defection and schism of hundreds in the parishes of Devon and Cornwall have well nigh proved the spiritual wrecking of the Church.

If the reconciliation of Churches was a ceremony of deep meaning and solemn consequence, lately re-used under painful necessities, the due and proper reconciliation of penitents must ere long stamp the work and consistent honor of the Church

of England with the seal of ancient truth: otherwise there can be no reform of social evil.

At a very lamentable period in national morality, where popular ribaldry had not as yet made callous the modesty and contrite conscience of the agricultural population, we find numerous instances of penance done in parish Chuaches without resistance.

William Payne, Rector of Wembworthy, and John Woodward his warden, certified in August 20, 1719, that 'one Charity C. of the same parish had, on August 16, come into ye parish church in ye forenoon, immediately after ye reading of ye second lesson, bareheaded, with her hair hanging down, with a white sheet about her shoulder, barefooted and barelegged, with a white rod in her hand and stood before the ministers seat until the end of the Nicene Creed, and there openly confessed her sin as prescribed and enjoined by the Court, testifying her hearty sorrow for the crime she had committed, with full purposes and promise (through the grace of God) never to give the like scandal and offence for the future, &c.'

A cynical world may scoff at so absurd a ceremony in the nineteenth century, but let the agents and friends of our White Cross and kindred societies say if some ecclesiastical condemnation, given under solemn circumstances, would not be more effectual than their expensive and alas too often resultless efforts, to prevent rather than punish such terrible flaws in the social life of England.

But the scourge was not merely moral, calling for church discipline: it was malignant and pestilential, needing sanitary treatment. It was not until 1741 that, under the presidency of Dean Alured Clarke, the scheme for the Devon and Exeter Hospital was successfully initiated, which (like most public institutions for education and charity taking their birth in the mind of some Cathedral Canon) has been of immeasurable benefit to the sick all over the diocese.

The Rector of East Worlington was unquestonably speaking the mind of a large number of the clergy and people when he wrote in August, 1726—'the small pox is so very hot and mortal at Barnstaple that the major part of my parish that intend to be confirmed are afraid to appear at his Lordships visitation there, as I am also myself. I should personally have waited myself on my Lord at the Palace, had not the same disease been equally mortal at Crediton and that neighbourhood which lies directly in my way to Exon.'

He then asks leave to appear at Tiverton to have his Instruments inspected there.

What the medical faculty could not do for want of knowledge in resisting the ravages of contagious disease, the spiritual in the treatment of moral iniquity had also failed to do, though Exeter may at least lay claim to the first Workhouse ever built and organized (in 1707), and with thankful remembrance of Bishop Blackall, boast of the good purpose to which the funds left in the hands of the Capitular Body by Sub-chanter Sylke for the maintenance of lights in the Cathedral, from All Hallow tide to Candlemas during evensong, and the buildings in the hands of the municipality, belonging to the Bluemaid's School, were adapted to the promotion of religious education for the children of the citizens. These were supplemented by the generous gifts of many wealthy merchants.

The obloquy with which the Church is generally assailed for her apparent indifference at this period must be considerably discounted when the names of such men as Samuel Walker, Curate of Truro, Henry Venn, and Romaine, Curate for six months of Lew Trenchard, are remembered. Their personal characters and influence are indelibly marked on the happier records of the Church in those days, but space will not here allow of any description of their imperishable work.

That so much interest was, during this century, shewn by the people in the musical portions of the services is not a little

remarkable as illustrating the difficulties met with even at the present day in finding a collection of hymns and tunes which will commend itself to a mixed congregation and shewing how anxious the people are to be satisfied with the prominence given to the ministerial functions of the clergy, if only they can have a voice in the selection of the musical and distinctly congregational sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

Tavistock Church was the scene of a violent dispute as to hymn singing and it arose on this wise.

"The major part of the graver and ancient inhabitants of Tavistock had desired that the Old Hundredth Psalm and other Psalms should be sang as they were pricked in the ancient Bibles in King James the Firsts time." Mr. Rennell, who had been Vicar four or five years, sung them to other tunes: upon this the churchwardens went to see Bishop Trelawny, at his house at Trelawne, and at a meeting held there his Lordship directed Mr. Rennell, by a letter, to use such and such tunes. This he agreed to do, and by way of sealing this contract of peace desired certain parishioners to receive the Holy Communion with him on the next Sunday. This they did, and yet a fortnight afterwards the same new objectionable tunes were used by order of the Vicar: the congregation forbore to sing, or the greater part of them, and on other occasions some sang one tune and some another, several confusions having been thereby occasioned.

Repeated orders under the Bishop's Seal met with no more attention: in fact Mr. Rennell scorned them. On week-days, Festivals and Fast days, service should be held, but Mr. Rennell did not consider Tavistock such a populous place as to necessitate daily prayers. He also frequently baptized children in private houses without any urgent cause. This grievance was felt by "the substantial men" of Tavistock, but at the Visitation, while the Archdeacon advised the Vicar to obey, as did all the other clergy, 'one (Mr. Granger) only excepted, who said he had a Higher Lord to appeal to.'

Eventually appeal was made to Sir Francis Drake, J.P., who took various affidavits on the subject with little result for good, for a certain Beaufort, who is described somewhat incongruously as "Pharmacopœia," was with others of the congregation sufficiently musical to have an opinion that while one tune suited a certain hymn another did not. These discrepancies the Vicar settled by going up into the pulpit and beginning a prayer.

Probably the "medicine man" was nearer the mark when he said that 'the confusion arose from Mr. Rennell's own humour in choosing a tune misliked by the people, but not from any unskilfullness of the congregation.'

There can be little doubt that the Vicar was strictly within his right and in one case much in sympathy with the modern clergy, his chief objection being to the Psalms of Playford, a stranger, and that the Gloria Patri to the 148th Psalm of his translation contained Blasphemy and that those who wrote such words needed more catechising. Mr. John Edgecombe, of Tavistock, went to expostulate with the Vicar and asked whether he had not received the Lord Bishop's order: to which Mr. Rennell replied tauntingly and slightingly: My Lord! What's my Lord! What am I!

The objectional Gloria ran on this wise :—

Unto the Three in One,
That bare record above,
The Father and the Sonn,
And Holy Spirit of Love
Be glory high as first begunne,
Soe shall be done
Eternally.

It is quite clear also from another glimpse which we obtain of the musical likes and dislikes of that period that an attempt was on foot to rearrange the old obsolete melodies and substitute more florid tunes. Thus Mr. William Hume writes from the same neighbourhood, 50 years earlier, that most of the ingenious

and well disposed persons in the parishes round had been promoting a laudable design of making the Psalmody in the Churches something more regular, and thereby more reputable. Lifton was the only place "where ignorance and peevishness, headed by what they call the best man in the parish, had petitioned against it."

Mr. Dickenson (whoever he might be, for the letter has no address), was a dying man and evidently opposed to any change, but "the worthy old gentleman," Mr. Joseph Harris—another neighbour whose identity cannot be established—who had endeared himself to the clergy by his true and constant affection, had favored this regular way of singing as an ornament to the Divine Service. The writer then gives the Chancellor—presumably Dr. James—a character as a connoisseur in musical matters and calls him "a known Patron of Art and taking pleasure in all discoveries of zeal for the Church."

These new singers were not so pleased with their own improvement but they were willing to submit themselves to the Bishop's directions. We have our Rules—he adds, referring probably to the old-fashioned version subjoined to our Bibles and Common Prayer Books, recommended by the practice of our forefathers and established by common use. The Bishop's orders should absolutely sway him, continues this faithful liege of the Episcopal throne, whose discouragement would make him silent, and encouragement modestly zealous for these proposed alterations.

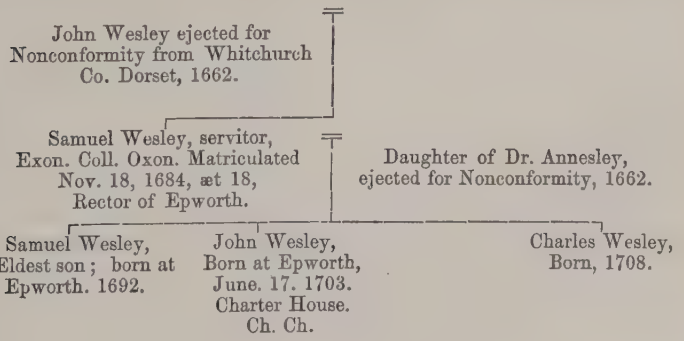
It is somewhat difficult to understand, at the present day, how the Bishop, with the firmest intention of being a Father in God to all his flock scattered upon the hills of Devon alone, could find time to interfere in such a matter and choose the chants and hymn tunes for some 500 churches, even in the present reduced size of the Diocese.

The interest, however, of the 18th century is essentially connected with religious revival and in the West it is associated with the name of John Wesley, in a special sense as the

opponent of a clergyman whose claim to notice is recognised by the Nonconformist no less than by the Anglican Church in the use of the hymn :

"Rock of Ages, cleft for me."

This was Augustus Montague Toplady, Vicar of Broadhembury, who resented most determinately the assertion that his spiritual conversion was the result of John Wesley's preaching. The slightly ecstatic declaration which he penned shortly before his death, that 'he should remember the years 1755 and 1758 with gratitude and joy in the heaven of heavens to all eternity,' not inaptly illustrates the type of emotion and expression which at such times characterized both parties, while acrimony and abuse not infrequently became substitutes for argument. Of him, as of his great opponent on the crucial doctrines of Calvin and Arminius, the recollection is happiest when it is remembered that while many obscure parish priests tended their own flocks in the villages of Devon and Cornwall, all unheeded by a particularly polemical age, Toplady, with deep research and earnest zeal, delivered from the pulpits of the metropolis the blessings of Divine Grace, and Wesley through Apostolic perils was carried by a high enthusiam to deliver his soul on hillside or mountain top—in street or alley—regardless of men. It will be well briefly to trace his pedigree :—


John Wesley ejected for Nonconformity from Whitchurch Co. Dorset, 1662.
Samuel Wesley, servitor, Exon. Coll. Oxon. Matriculated Nov. 18, 1684, æt 18, Rector of Epworth.
Daughter of Dr. Annesley, ejected for Nonconformity, 1662.
Samuel Wesley, Eldest son; born at Epworth. 1692.
John Wesley, Born at Epworth, June. 17. 1703. Charter House. Ch. Ch.
Charles Wesley, Born, 1708.

John came to Devonshire in July, 1750, and settled at Tiverton as a public preacher and usually pitched his camp outside the corn market.

In 1751, on the anniversary of Blundell's School, a number of people with fife and drum came upon him and demolished his scenery. The preacher had to stop and was removed by some friends to save him from personal violence: afterwards he scarcely dared shew himself in public. A clergyman was engaged to condemn Wesley's unorthodox manner of preaching the Word, but the "coarse invective" employed did rather serve to the benefit of the defendant who was, however, summoned for assault and holding a conventicle, but the indictment was quashed.

The Mayor of Tiverton as an orthodox churchman of course considered that Methodism should not be allowed to take root in the town and took counsel of John Worth, of Worth, as to what he should do. He recommended his Worship to follow the example of Gamaliel and leave these men alone. Well, said the Mayor, there is no need of any new religion. There's the old church and the new church: that is one religion. Then there is the Pitt meetings, the meeting in Peter Street, the meeting in New Street, four ways of going to heaven already, enough in all conscience; and if the people wont go to heaven by one or other of these ways, they shant go to heaven at all herefrom, while I am Mayor of Tiverton.

But many years before this, the Oxford Act prohibiting any dissenting minister from coming within five miles of any town or church where they had officiated, drove many like Oliver Peard and Trosse to boldly assert their right, as they conceived it, to preach, even at the risk of fine and imprisonment, the latter, after the Toleration Act (passed soon after the accession of William III.), succeeding Mr. Hallet in the care of a large congregation in Exeter, where he died in 1713.

As the rigid Calvinistic views of reprobation and election

drove men to the Unitarian phase of Truth, Exeter became the stronghold of Nonconformity and a very cradle of heresy. Four Presbyterian congregations were formed under Hallett, Withers, Pierce and Lavington, and in 1707 began the controversy which ended in 1719 in the deprivation of Pierce, Hallett and Withers, by the committee (who had imbibed Arian views from Whiston). Bitter was the sarcastic irony of the circumstances under which the Arian meeting house was was raised upon the ruins of the Priory of S. Nicholas.

Subsequently, when a few adherents of this Arian community gave up this chapel, they built another in South Street, known as George's Meeting.

The progress, however, of dissent belongs rather to the history of that section of churchmen who by direct acts of schism forfeited their heritage in the Church of their fathers and by their own act and deed repudiated alike her teaching and her holy sacraments. This John Wesley never did. He preached his first sermon in Exeter, on November, 25, 1739, being invited to occupy the pulpit of St. Mary Arches by Mr. Dunscombe, who afterwards himself preached in the open air and finally joined the Society of Friends. Taking for his text, Rom. XIV., 7., Wesley dilated on the importance of inward spiritual religion and the insufficiency of all external demonstrations of faith in its absence. Such earnestness and warmth in delivering the word of God caused grievous offence to Robert Wright, the Rector, who withdrew his consent for another sermon in the afternoon, on the score that while the doctrine was of the Church of England, its novelty and strangeness of manner might lead to enthusiasm or despair.

Four years had passed when Charles Wesley, the author of so many beautiful hymns, grandfather of Dr. Sam. Seb. Wesley (sometime organist of Exeter and subsequently of Gloucester Cathedral), passed through the city on his way from Cornwall and preached possibly on Rougemont, in the Castle Yard or on

Southernhay, to a congregation of the wealthier citizens drawn thither by the report of his successes, and taking for his text—

"Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world,"

moved the multitude by his stirring address. With grateful hearts many of his hearers wished him good luck on his journey in the name of the Lord. His brother John had not been in the least discouraged by his disappointment at S. Mary Arches but coming hither again in August, 1743, preached that day, being a Sunday, at 7 a.m., to a handful of followers, then went twice to church (as he thought—so far as the sermons went—to no profit), and in the Castle Yard addressed, as he himself calculated, half the adult population of the city, on the words; "Happy are they whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered." Thence to the gaol, where he visited a clergyman and a lad under sentence of death. The next month John Wesley again preached in the same place but as he feared at the time with no visible effect.

The honest boast of the King, George II., "I tell you while I sit on the throne, no man shall be persecuted for conscience sake," certainly, in the case of Wesley and Thomas Westell, was less easy of accomplishment than the King imagined. In the North, terrible war was waged against the Methodists as if they had been worse foes of the Reformed Church and the Protestant Succession than Philip of Spain or the Pretender, whose troops threatened the Southern shores of England, and excited wild alarm and increasing anxiety and suspicion against Wesley and his supporters. It might have been indeed imagined that they were as rebellious rogues as the Scotchmen, whom young William Trelawny with his regiment, writing from Stirling on December 29, 1725, to Dr. Wm. Cooke, the Bishop's Registrar, denounces as 'flying in the Sovereign's face, and yet pretending to be loyal subjects, though nothing but a proud, beggarly, obstinate, hypocritical people.' But a comparison between the canny rebels and a West country mob would not

have been altogether in favor of the latter. At the election of 1761, the city became the battlefield; the electors ranged on the side of the Chamber with the Church, called the Country or High Church party, set the battle in array against the Merchants with the Dissenters, called the Low Church party; and yet again when the Cider Act was passed, feeling ran extremely high; then the prospects of the country were indeed seriously prejudiced and to the citizens of Exeter national victories were as nothing compared with the injustice sought to be inflicted on them by a tax on their favorite beverage.

The Mayor was deserted by the Council on his State attendance at Church: during service an apple tree and empty hogshead were paraded through the streets with black streamers decked, farmers grubbed up their orchards, petitions went up to the Houses of Parliament, and the unfortunate Bishop, Dr. Keppel, who had not yet reached his palace, though for sometime consecrated, narrowly escaped personal injury, being hissed, insulted and assaulted with apples, because it was reported he had voted for this obnoxious imposition on the Devonshire farmers. Nor would the name of Russell serve as a talisman to ward off the assaults of the mob which pursued the Duke of Bedford, in 1769, from the Guildhall to St. Peter's Church, whither he fled for safety well nigh in vain, the lewd fellows of the baser sort shewing scant respect to his clerical escort who at last successfully hustled him through the choir into the Bishop's Palace, by which device he escaped through the back door as it were from his clients, angry even to blood-shed that he had been a consenting party to a secret article in the late treaty of peace by which the French might import their silk. Indeed Precentor Snow might have by reason of his bravery on that occasion well claimed a higher dignity for his noble defence of the Lord Lieutenant of the County, though possibly the insult offered to the living representative of that noble family was not greater than that offered to the noble dead lying in con-

secrated ground on his estate of Bedford House, when, in 1773, the foundations of the ancient Church were dug up and fragments of human remains and sepulchral mouuments were relegated to the rubbish heap.

To such base uses were very many of the ancient Churches of this city put, but of no viler scene since the Commonwealth has the Cemetery been witness than when in 1796 the Londonderry Fencibles, a regiment of foot newly raised in Ireland, was brought over to Exeter, with a view of their being draughted for service into other regiments. To this they refused to submit, as contrary to their engagement. The military stationed at Exeter were ordered to enforce the orders of the Government: the 25th Regiment of Light Dragoons, assisted by a large squadron of cavalry, charged and dispersed the mutinous companies of Irish, which were drawn up in the Churchyard at the East and North sides of the Cathedral Church. A cruel and terrible scene of carnage was perpetrated on the wretched men who fled from the sacred precincts through the city, spreading alarm amongst the citizens and flying for shelter to the Castle, where they were disarmed.

Up to the end of the century the fear of invasion created scarcity of provisions and suspicious discontent in all classes of the community, the large extent of seaboard rendering Devonshire and Cornwall specially susceptible of attack. Inherent loyalty and indisputable courage and resolute self-sacrifice have ever animated the people of the West when danger is at hand and the wants of the poorer section of the community found relief in the very place where they had ever found for nigh 800 years support for body and soul.

In 1800, when the worst had come and all ranks of life began to suffer from scarcity of provisions and the high price of food, on account of the war with France, large quantities of wheat and barley bread were baked and sold at the parish Churches at a reduced price.

On the Thanksgiving day, June 1st, one of the first Methodist lay preachers in Cornwall was pressed into the Royal Navy and offered to the captain of a man-of-war at Penzance, who replied: I have no authority to take such men as these, unless you would have me give him so much money a week to preach and pray to my people.

Wesley's Cornish campaign, for warfare it most assuredly was against all the powers of darkness—is the most remarkable of all his exploits. What effects Methodism has since had as a power to raise the spirit and moral tone of the fishermen and miners it is not the purpose of this history to declare—but as it has been most truly asserted that all Christendom owes a debt of eternal gratitude to the Roman Church, through all her corruptions, for her unceasing daily Celebration of the Holy Mysteries and continuous representation of the Divine Sacrifice, so does the English Church most thankfully recognise the unsparing energy and vigour with which, under many difficulties and against all obstacles, the Cornish evangelists preached the word of God from village to village, to stubborn hearts, in the time of her convalescence. Instances of persons labouring under strange misapprehension as to the meaning of "conversion" are not confined to Cornwall. To many devout and anxious souls John Wesley seemed a puzzle and stumbling block. Edward Greenfield, a turner, had been a fearful drunkard, hard swearer and cruel husband and father. He was apprehended just as John Wesley finished his sermon at S. Just, on June 26th, 1745, and his only crime seems to have been, that for three years he had lived a respectable life and declared that he knew his sins were forgiven him.

None will deny deep pity, some even may confess shame, for the way in which the schismatics were treated—even with the co-operation and approval of the Cathedral and beneficed clergy—while the violence of the Exeter mob to the attendants at the Chapel behind the Guildhall, and the atrocities, both

vulgar and abominable, committed upon helpless women and aged persons excited even the indignation of readers of the daily press in London.

But the experiences of John Cornish, for some years a most enthusiastic preacher in the connexion, were severe above all, his indefatigable exertions costing him almost life itself, though ultimately his secession 'shook the tabernacle to its very foundations.'

A year later Charles Wesley on his western tour passed through Axminster and Exeter, glowing with the triumphs of his success among the quarrymen of Portland and their spontaneous reception of his beautiful hymn, which he then composed and sang—

"Come, thou all Victorious Lord."

Yet another year and John, his brother, passing through Exeter,where the political clouds were as heavy with electioneering tempests as the atmospheric with rain, wrote his famous tract: "A word to a Freeholder."

In 1748, out of nine circuits in England and Wales, Bristol included Devonshire, except Plymouth Dock.

Up to 1769, the Methodists held their meetings in a room over the North Gate, where also they were shamefully attacked by the rabble, instigated it is much to be feared by those who should have known better.

The "Ten Cells" Almshouses were put to an unexpected purpose when the Methodists assembled there for preaching and worship in 1775.

But the significance of his staunch and irrevocable church membership was never more eloquently shewn than when on Sunday, August 29, 1762, after preaching to poor and apparently unappreciative—because undemonstrative—audiences, at eight, on Southernhay Green (for he calls it an extremely quiet congregation) he went to the Cathedral where the great seriousness and decency with which divine service was per-

formed, impressed him greatly. The organ, which for 100 years in the hands of such men as Jackson—the friend of Gainsborough and Opie—had drawn thousands to listen to the praises of God by its grand accompaniment, appeared to him large, beautiful and fully toned (in which opinion the most eminent patrons of sacred music had long agreed), while the words of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, probably as set by Dr. Blow or Jackson himself, exceeded, to his mind, even the "Messiah" itself. In fact the famous Evangelist was in a mood just at that juncture to understand the marvellous power which such a combination of symmetry, grandeur and harmony in architecture and music can exercise by the mysterious agency of the Holy Paraclete upon even the most eloquent preacher or the most valiant soldier.

But the last words of this period, when we call to mind the painful error of judgment committed by the Bishop himself and the manner in which he thought it necessary to express himself,—have a very plaintive cadence where John Wesley writes:—

"I was well pleased to partake of the Lord's Supper with my old opponent, Bishop Lavington."

"O may we sit down together in the kingdom of our Father."

And the peaceful and happy impression on this occasion made upon his mind, through 20 years of travel and toil in his Master's service, across the Atlantic and amongst his own people, needed only the graceful corroboration of approval with which he records how on August 18. (again) 1782, he was much pleased with the same solemn music and devout deportment of the congregation, no less than with the *Gloria in Excelsis*.

Thus, again, after so many apostolic journeys he found still comfort in the old Cathedral service, and accepted the hospitality of Bishop Ross, dining at the Palace, which he thought beautifully situated, in his happy ignorance of the miasmatic conditions which have from time immemorial up to present

days made the residence of the Exeter Prelates far more suitable for a sugar refinery or serge factory than for the habitation of a large retinue; the furniture also seems to have accorded with his views of apostolic propriety, and his Christo-æsthetic sensibilities were pleasantly gratified by the dinner, which was sufficient, not redundant, plain and good, but not delicate. His appetite was not marred by the duly proportionate company of clerical and municipal worthies who sat with him at the Bishop's board: they were five clergymen and four aldermen. The result of this altogether respectable dinner party was a devout prayer from John Wesley that the Bishop's genuine and unaffected courtesy would be a blessing to his whole Diocese.

There were doubtless many who at that time felt bound by their position and duty to discountenance, and indeed most forcibly condemn any departure from the ordinary performance of Divine Service as held regularly by the Church of England in accordance with the Act of Parliament, though curiosity tempted them to go and hear what those babblers said.

George Whitefield preached often in Exeter and drew a large multitude to hear him, specially in 1749, when in the autumn some ten thousand people attended, amongst whom came the Bishop, George of Exeter, to whom Sub-dean Barton wrote so commendatory an epitaph, that it would look as if the little ill feeling he had in his heart had been reserved for a jeremiad against the founder of Wesleyism. Perhaps, however, compunction none the less moved his Lordship's spirit, if not indignation, when he compared the ease and dignified security of the Cathedral pulpit with the dangerous conditions under which this unflinching Champion of the Faith delivered his soul, for on this occasion a stone thrown by a drunken man hit Whitefield on the head, and a bystander was also hurt.

On another occasion well might it have touched his heart when a rough, who, coming with stones in his pocket intended

for the preacher's head, was obliged to confess that the words which he had heard had touched him to the quick. His purpose failed and so also did that of Tanner, a shipwright, of Plymouth, who with his mates made an attack upon Whitefield as he was preaching within hearing of the Dockyard, and with extended arms exclaiming to the crowd assembled to flee from the wrath to come. Tanner dropped the stone which he was in the act of throwing at the head of the preacher, as he heard the words, "Thou art the man," cutting into his soul like a two-edged sword. Henceforth his work was to preach the gospel and for many years he officiated in a chapel called the Tabernacle which he built in Rock's Lane in 1772.

The associations of Wesleyan Methodism in Exeter were later in the century, with one Gidley an excise officer, through whose exertions the chapel in Musgrave Alley was procured, special commendation being accorded him by the founder, with promises of a visit on his next journey to Cornwall, additional authority accruing to this praise in as much as the Providence of God had—if we may believe Wesley—intervened for the express purpose of Gidley's receiving an official appointment in the customs here. Wesley takes special trouble to explain that the Lord Chief Justice would put the matter of licensing the chapel if the Courts or Magistrates objected, and promised to intercede himself with Chancellor Nutcombe.

When Wesley came to Exeter he must have been worn and in sore need of rest.

In 1773, for instance, he would, with Thomas Oliver for his companion, ride from Cullompton after preaching on the Lord's Day and then go into Exeter and preach there also.

On another occasion he would ride from Plymouth on a Saturday, preach at Exeter and then ride into Cullompton where he always found a larger and more attentive congregation, on Sunday morning leaving early for Wellington.

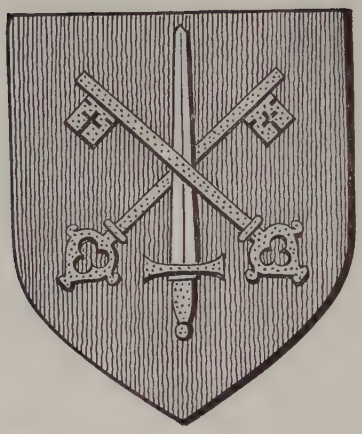
Such energy and unsparing devotion were truly not much in

the generally conceived spirit of the age, but the indefatigable and extraordinary pastor and printer, Davy, with his quaint "System of Divinity," the work of his own brain, hands and press, represents the type of man which resists and abhors apathy and idleness, even if no worthy counterpart of Gilbert White then existed in either Devon or Cornwall.

When James II. came to the throne the title-deeds of ecclesiastical property must have been frequently missing, but who can be amazed at an absence of written evidences when the confessed purpose of the Commonwealth, at one time, was to destroy all records of antiquity and after this, not the deluge but the redistribution of land and goods. A great number of the parochial clergy were in the same evil case as the Vicar of St. John's, Antony, in the Deanery of East, in the Archdeaconry of Cornwall. He could not find his terrier. No grant could he trace anywhere, by any means, of the glebe on which his house and barn stood, but he could quote a very interesting custom, one of those quaint semi-sacramental ratifications of a deed of gift which are so invaluable in local history. "This part of my glebe—he writes to the Bishop in 1726—borders upon, fenceth against, and probably once was a part of an estate call'd Woolson, Antiently the inheritance and seat of a family of the same name lately extinct. One of this family is supposed to have endowed the Parsonage of St. John's with this part of its glebe, obliging the Rector yearely, on Michaelmas Day, in the forenoon, to pay down upon the Communion Table of Antony Church one shilling, in lieu of all Rents or Tiths for the part of the glebe, as I have it from an old memorandum dated 1604, and subscribed Nicholas Lodge, Rector of St John's, which speaks of it as an Antient Custom without pointing to the time of the first settlement of it. Whenever it were, it was probably by agreement between the Benefactor Woolsdon, the Bishop of Exon, the Vicar of Antony, and the Abbot of Tavistock, to whom the Great Tiths then belonged.

I find that in the Reign of Henry the VII., one Woolsden of this family was a benefactor to Antony Church by the grant of some Lands *in usum Ecclesiæ Sancti Jacobi apud West Antony*, as the words of the deed are, but whether the same person were the Benefactor to St. John's I cannot yet learn."

Before, however, we leave the eighteenth century, we cannot but observe that it is certainly a remarkable coincidence that the two most active and acrimonious disputants on the rights of the Crown and the privileges of Convocation should have held stalls in the Cathedral Church of S. Peter, in Exeter. The weighty stone of controversy set rolling by William Wake, in 1697, only just previous to his appointment to the Deanery, was instrumental in striking those brilliant sparks which shewed Atterbury, Canon, afterwards Archdeacon of Totnes, to be a master of history, logic and sarcasm. "A Letter to a Convocation man" was answered by "The Authority of Christian Princes," and followed by "The Appeal to all the members of the Church of England." "The Rights, Powers and Privileges of an English Convocation," published in 1700 and re-printed in 1701, was a nail fastened by the Master of Assemblies, driven home by "The State of the Church and Clergy of England in 1703," leaving Archbishop Wake little hope of ever refuting the pertinent power of Jessop's, of Lincoln, declaration, so plainly given by him in 1692: "*As to the Rights of Kings; I postpone them to the Right of the Church.*" The subsequent confusion and disorder in the proceedings of Convocation, which resulted in the bitter misunderstandings between the Upper and Lower Houses, cannot be treated of in this place, but the year 1717 having witnessed the proroguing of Convocation by Royal writ, a period of suspended animation lasted, with the exception of a short interval, from 1714-1741, when some business was transacted by way of consultation. The first action of Convocation as a great deliberative council of the Church was not till 1861.



ARMS OF THE BISHOP OF EXETER.

CHAPTER XIV.

But the bathos of spiritual depression had been reached, when on 2nd January, 1831, Henry Philpotts was consecrated to the See of Exeter. The Church at once found a stalwart and fearless champion of all her rights, for indeed previous to his elevation to the Bench Episcopal, he had given no little proof of his resolute determination to be seen fighting bravely on her behalf in all matters which affected her regeneration and recovered life.

According to some students of history it would appear that during the eighteenth century, but for the evangelical revival associated with the name of John Wesley, there was nothing of a redeeming and palliating character to save the reputation of the Established Church, either in Devon or Cornwall. This is eminently a misleading conclusion.

The name of Henry Martyn, the miner's son of Gwennap, lives with renewed vigour in the records of the Church. Born

on February 18th, 1781, his character, work and death are yearly commemorated in the Cathedral Church of Truro. And why? Because if there was any truth in the beautiful apostrophe of the poet parson of Moorwenstow:

> Ah! native Cornwall, throned upon the hills—
> Thy moorland pathways worn by Angel's feet,

his were the first to take the glorious Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ to the Persians. The story of his delay in sailing, involving as it did a terrible struggle between strong love for the human and irresistible zeal for the spiritual, so epigrammatically expressed by the words of Martial, which Martyn himself quoted in the desperate passion of love,

> Nec tecum possum vivere nec sine te:—

his remark on hearing Pitt speak: Ah! if these powers of oratory were now employed in recommending the Gospel!—his thoroughly genuine meditation and exercise of self-repression: Be resigned then, my soul; Jesus is thine and He does all things well:—these and many similar notes of his habits of meditation and prayer should be recorded as significant of the leading traits in his character.

"The Saint from Calcutta," whether sitting in his bungalow translating the New Testament for the Persians, with formidable moustaches and dressed in Persian habit, or plodding away at their grammar, never swerved from that saying of singular courage, which against the strongest impulse of passionate yearning for the company of "Persis the beloved," and the irresistible assaults of hereditary consumption, carried him through all temptations to the very end: With the Bible in hand and Christ at my right hand, I can do all things.

His appeal, in 1811, for 900,000 Christians in India, who wanted Bibles, still rings in the ears of the Missionary Societies.

That ever so saintly a life as that of Walker, of Truro, would have found ample and useful scope under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, had it been long tried by the restrictions and local restraints of the parochial system, Wesley would never allow.

His letters to Mr. Orchard too plainly shew the bigotted antipathy which the great evangelist had to the ordinary unsensational regular ministrations of even the most holy self-possessed messengers of God.

We read with mingled sorrow and astonishment the unfortunate comments of J. A. Froude, on this epoch of the Catholic Church of England, when, after observing, in 1881, "that the last 40 or 50 years will be memorable," he declares that when his brother the Archdeacon and his friends undertook the reconstruction of the Church, it was in the healthiest condition it had ever known. Possibly the use of the neuter pronoun "it" for the feminine "She" is the key to the unhappy feelings with which he misjudged the work and Destiny of the Bride of Christ, the *Ecclesia*.

His picture of the Arcadian simplicity of religious life, which he had seen in his own home and village, was pasted over that of the general landscape of godless apathy and irreligious slovenliness in which the large cities and county towns of the kingdom were obscured. If, in 1881, the laity stand aloof—as he then so recently wrote—indifferent and contemptuous, a premise which no careful observer of national life will for one moment allow to be true at that date; if it be true that 'the Catholic theory of the Sacraments is the counterpart of medieval enchantment' which every devout communicant in the Church of England will most indignantly deny (and they may be counted by tens of thousands throughout Great Britain, her dependencies and colonies), if a 'Ritualist English Church is as powerless over the lives of the people as the Roman augurs over the Rome of Cicero and Cæsar'—which is bosh—then undoubtedly it is true that 'centuries will pass before religion and common sense will again work together with practical harmony as *in the days of Whately and Arnold*,' but let the noblest of the friends of Arnold be taken at his own estimate as a just and honorable critic, with large opportunities for knowing the present work of the Church of England.

The present Bishop of London, Dr. Temple, has recently declared his agreement with the hopeful opinion of an indefatigable parish priest, who stated at the Mansion House, on Monday, 11th March, 1895, that it was not a hopeless problem which confronted the Church in the East of London, and that she would yet win East London over to the side of Christ. We cannot but devoutly pray that the last moments of that lugubrious prophet who, nursed in the bosom of Mother Church, thought it yet necessary or clever to disparage Her aims, pour contempt on Her Master and His disciples, and ridicule Her most Holy Sacraments, were graciously lit up at the last by some revelation of Her true position and final victory.

That the Tractarians produced results of incalculable consequence is now generally agreed by all, but few realize how large a share "Henry of Exeter, so famous in those days," had in shaking and awaking the Church from her hybernation.

Coming from the North of England, braced by the more energetic tone of the mining and manufacturing counties, he had not been many months in the warmer air of pastoral Devon before he seemed disposed to sound a note of alarm and rebuke.

At his Primary Visitation, having commenced with a lacrymose jeremiad on the gloom and darkness which hung over all institutions, even the Ark of the Lord, he thought it well to modify these terms of reproach by a subsequent footnote, in which he qualifies his pessimist reflections by the assertion, that the Church has after all nothing to fear. Speaking of tithes, he observes that plunder and sacrilege are not the resources to which the British people will wilfully have recourse and then becomes rhapsodically poetical about harps and the honesty of the yeomen of England.

The inequality of the distribution of Church Revenues was a trouble to him ; as illustrated by the parishes of Clayhidon,

Dunkeswell and Tavistock, in his own diocese. "The spirit of English law is averse to pluralities," was an observation which, considering the history of his own fortunes, had a remarkable application near home and received a witty, if spiteful, illustration in the skit "Bishop Toby in search of a mitre," written in the manner of Samuel Butler.

There were at this time in the whole Diocese 173 curates: two had £40 a year: several £50: some £150. The Bishop's other remarks are significant: he advocated greater strictness as to marriages by banns: greater support of the National Society: regular catechising; and in speaking of the Wesleyans shewed a singular disposition to minimise the difficulties of their separation from their Mother Church by speaking of the narrow partition existing between Churchmen and themselves.

Indeed, the consecration of Henry Phillpotts, Dean of Chester, marks an epoch in the history of the Church of England. In the Diocese of Durham he had already lifted up his voice with no uncertain notes, in defence of his Diocesan and brother clergy, no less than of his own pluralism. His tact during critical times at Gateshead, his sensible views on the question of Poor Law and Settlement, his conduct as a magistrate, tame as compared with that which he shewed in his handling of Lord Grey, Canning and Jeffry, his sagacity in refusing the See of Clogher (though then valued at £14,000 a year), his letters to Charles Butler, and his *elenchus* of Roman Catholic worship and teaching, these opportunities gave him full scope to exercise those powers of pungent wit and pugilistic self-assertion which gained for him the honourable soubriquet, Hotspur.

From his matriculation at the early age of 13, at Oxford, where his friendship with Routh, his counsellor, and with Copplestone, did much to form his character, Henry Phillpotts shewed signs of no ordinary abilities and when his wrath or sympathy were aroused, there was no limit to the impetuous

eloquence with which he either blessed or cursed friends and opponents. There was also a seemly unction of courtesy, not undiluted with quiet humour, which, as in the case of the removal of Roman Catholic Disabilities, in dealing with Lord Grey, he not sparingly displayed. If in some matters, such as the unfortunate disturbances at Manchester, his usual luck deserted him, it is impossible to doubt the sincerity with which he vindicated certain doctrines of the English Church from the unscrupulous aspersions of his Roman Catholic adversaries, but at the same time could not refuse to see the justice of Roman Catholic freedom and of the abolition of Tests, provided that ample security was assured to the Protestant.

While some of his best enemies might have called him a clerical agitator, none could deny that he had much of the diplomatic power of a true statesman, these faculties being remarkably evident in the elaborate scheme of legislation which he proposed to Lord Eldon, in 1825. There was not, as his episcopate subsequently proved, a subject of ecclesiastical or social interest on which he had not much to say and advise both clergy and laity. If it was in his eyes desirable to oppose, or thwart any measure in Parliament or his own diocese which he considered would be prejudicial to the common welfare, domestic happiness or spiritual benefit of the nation or Church, neither righteous wrath, nor acute logic, nor personal fatigue would he spare, even at the risk of a charge of indecorous precipitancy Herein lay his chief weakness. In the case of Mr. Gorham, and again in that of the cemetery at Stoke Damerel, the impetuous severity of his treatment created for him many enemies, while his calling together a Diocesan Synod excited the alarm of the press. In April, 1851, he had declared his intention to hold a Diocesan Synod of Presbyters beneficed or licensed. The most pressing needs of the Church were discussed: these included matters of such deep interest as Secession to Rome, the Roman Catholic Bishoprick at Plymouth, the

Training College, Inspection of Schools, Catechising, Pastoral Superintendence of the young, the permanent Diaconate, Lay Assistance, increase of Services and the Holy Eucharist.

It was scarcely probable that the eyes of so keen a Prelate would fail to detect some latent flaw in doctrinal tendencies and predilection when the rector *in posse* of Brampford Speke advertised for "a curate free from Tractarian error." And the Latin apothegm of S. Augustine with which Mr. Gorham prefaced his examination paper, an ordeal lasting 52 hours, was scarcely calculated to dispel the episcopal suspicions—

Est miserabilis animi servitus signa pro rebus accipere.

Since those days many matured and tried Churchmen have found reason to alter their preconceived prejudices against the then arbitrary judgment of Bishop Phillpotts and agree with the Recorder of Salisbury that the decision then arrived at by a lay tribunal, violated the rules of law, grammar, reason and equity.

One of the most famous instances of epigrammatic wit as applied to a *cause celebre* is attributed to the late Sir George Rose:

Bishop. Baptized, a baby
Becomes *sine labe*:
So the Act makes him;
So the Church takes him.

Contra. But is he fit?
We very much doubt it.
Devil a bit
Is it valid without it!

Adjudicated. Bishop non-suited:
Priest unconfuted:
Be instituted!

Reasons for Judgment. Bishop and Vicar
Why will you bicker
Each with his brother?
Since both are right
Or one is quite
As wrong as the other.

Costs.
Deliberative,
Pondering well,
Each take a shell,
The lawyers the native.

The Church of Exeter was at one time oppressed and agitated in a very remarkable way with respect to the appointment to the Deanery of Exeter. The case of the Queen *v.* the Chapter of Exeter, and the whole proceedings preparatory to the final election of Dean Lowe, are now matters of almost forgotten history, but by an Act passed within two months of the judgment of the Court the patronage of this Deanery and of all those of the Old Foundation was vested in the Crown. In vain did Bishop Phillpotts propose a clause excepting the Deanery of Exeter, for on August 1st, 1839, the confirmation of the election of Dr. Lowe was signed by his Lordship.

The crowning offence of episcopal arrogance, if we may believe the *Times* of those days, was the revival of synodical action, specially when such matters as the Marriage Laws received quasi official attention of the assembled clergy.

The official report of the final moments of the Synod of 1851, is couched in somewhat suggestive terms. "After special prayers and a blessing from the Bishop, the Synod stood up and the Archdeacon of Exeter said: 'In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, let us go in peace.' Thereupon the Synod departed, as they had assembled, in peace. AMEN." A somewhat cynical corollary is added to the effect that 'the Archdeacon of Middlesex had lately found himself in some confusion on the question of Baptism and Remission of Sins.'

Very shortly after his coming into Devon, he visited the most inaccessible part of his extensive diocese, the Scilly Isles, and returned to Exeter for the then largely attended Festival of two great Church Societies, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It is thought by some that the revival of this Anniversary might kindle a much to be desired interest in Foreign and Home Missions amongst the more remote parishes. On this and on similar occasions he shewed his vast powers of influence in a way to possibly disarm some

of the suspicion with which many of his speeches and actions were always received.

Those were days of violent Church party feeling: nothing was too bad to say of the Bench of Bishops, collectively and individually: their effigies were burnt and great fear was felt that on 5th November serious disturbances would take place at Exeter, but whether Henry of Exeter needed any defence or encouragement or not, the Members of the Clerical Club, at their monthly meeting, on 25th October, resolved on a vote of thanks to his Lordship 'for the eloquent and manly part he had taken in the debate in the House of Lords, on 11th October.'

It was quite impossible for an appointment, such as that of Dr. Hampdon to the See of Hereford, to be made without his emphatic protest to Lord Russell.

The Devon and Exeter Central Schools, then as now, claimed the support of the city, but specially of the Bishop and Capitular Body, and on the preaching of the anniversary sermon by his Lordship, £61 18s. 8d. was collected.

It is here impossible to give a detailed account of his long and most eventful episcopate, but the salient points in his character and the most singular traits of his will and disposition, while well remembered by the few clergy of the diocese who have survived him, may be briefly noted. Through evil and good report his determinate purpose was to instruct his clergy on the proper use of the offertory at one moment, at the next, on the then less trenchant subject of socialism.

The Archdeacons needed his advice as to the office of scripture readers, in 1847: his clergy needed training and reassurance as to Roman aggression, in 1850: the sacrament of Confirmation had been grievously misunderstood and misapplied: he must needs correct errors of such capital interest. The Church Discipline Act, Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, Confession and Absolution:—these and similar matters of first

importance furnished the pugnacious and (it must be confessed) generally well informed Bishop of Exeter with unavoidable opportunities for putting on the gloves with outspoken and even anonymous adversaries, the same attitudes of warfare, offensive and defensive being used against Macaulay, Dean Lowe, the Edinburgh Reviewers and Mr. Gorham and his defenders, without respect of persons or regard to consequences.

Nor were the cynics and satirists wanting to provoke his doughty Lordship to crushing and voluminous rejoinders when his equanimity was upset by such squibs, as the Dramatic Poem, "Be ye converted, a Dream of the Bishop of Exon."

These idiosyncrasies of the Bishop were not lacking in the most distinctly representative of his sons, the late Archdeacon of Cornwall, William John Phillpotts, whose reply to Canon Farrar's "Eternal Hope" and "St. Paul's witness as to the duty of upholding Church Endowments," could only have been written by the same hand as that which would have broken down the modern reredos in the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, at Exeter, not from any particular abhorrence of idols or any iconoclastic predilections but to the intent that the Episcopal authority might be enforced, not only in ritual and use, but in fabric thereof, in direct opposition to the spirit and letter of the most reputable and ancient of the Cathedral Statutes.

The judgment in the Exeter Reredos case has furnished a most unfortunate precedent in every Consistorial court.

The most singular character with which Henry of Exeter, had to reckon was Hawker, the poet parson, around whose memory an almost mystic charm is found to hang, not so much on account of the extremely questionable jokes of which he was confessedly guilty in his young days, but by reason of his true poetic sentiment and the singular circumstances of his deathbed profession. Of these last we have, however, no intention of treating; of his peculiar charm and power there can be no question.

Bishop Carey had recognised his intense individuality, even in days when the clergy were not eminently distinguished for high thinking, for he had entered the name of Hawker for early preferment, a fact which could scarcely have been known to Bishop Phillpotts when he addressed him in the somewhat curt terms of rebuke:—"We don't give livings to men who write prize poems."

The force of this characteristic *dictum* is considerably weakened by the fact that the ultimate successor of the speaker on this occasion was chosen to occupy the Episcopal throne of Leofric by reason of his poetical successes at Cambridge and of his contributions to the pious poetry of the Victorian age.

Hawker, however, had much of the pugnacious *esprit* of his spiritual father in God, though the tenderness of his imagination cannot be doubted when we read his lines:

I came across a country minister,
A servant of the Lord;
To bless that mother's child for her,
With Water and the Word.
The dim light struggling o'er the room,
Scarce reached the lowly bed.
And thus mid woe and want and gloom,
The Sacrament was shed.

And again:

They had no home in all the land,
Like that old House of God.

Oh! for the poor man's Church again,
With one roof over all,
Where the true hearts of Cornishmen
Might beat beside the wall.
The altars where in holier days
Our fathers were forgiven,
Who went with meek and faithful ways,
Through the old aisles to Heaven.

At times also his "Heavenly muse" would speak in the stern voice of the comparative deadness of the nineteenth century, and the manners and customs of the clergy of this later age.

"Grim Dundagel, throned along the sea,"—

had appealed to his sensitive nature, not less forcibly than to that of Alfred Tennyson, but the depth of the sorrowful wrath of his soul was more truly poured forth when he sang of how

"the garbage of sin
"tarnished this land and all things holy fled:
"the Saugraal was not."

Mr. William Maskell had done much to increase the fame of Mr. Hawker's muse by his private circulation of the poem "Aurora," and both his "Footprints of Former Man" and "His Voice from the place of S. Morwenna, in the rocky land, uttered to the Sisters of Mercy, at the Tamar mouth, in 1849," shewed him to be a writer of unequivocal resolution.

The influence of the Church when Hawker was ordained was indeed *nil*. Well might Oxford men look upon his parish as an invaluable outpost, and he himself sing of his parish church:—

"They pitched no tent for change or death."

It was he who suggested the value of a Diocesan Synod as a mode of meeting the evils with which the Diocese was in danger of being overwhelmed after the Gorham judgment.

Thanks to his irrepressible exhortations, Ruridecanal Chapters revived.

The Cornish Clergy were in his opinion a humble and undistinguished race, but for all that, it was insufferable that they should appear on solemn occasions with so little self-respect.

"At all events, brethren," he once said (when he himself was habited in his own flowing cassock, at a Visitation) "At all events, brethren, you will allow me to remark that I do not make myself look like a waiter out of place, or an unemployed undertaker. I do scrupulously abide by the 74th Canon of 1603."

It was natural that holding such views of the Catholic Church he should be pained and perplexed at the appointment of the Head Master of Rugby—one of the contributors to Essay and Reviews—specially when the volume had been con-

demned by the majority of Bishops and Convocation as unsound and heretical, nor does it appear that he fully accepted the repudiation subsequently made by the said writer as to his responsibility for opinions in the other articles. The nomination of Mr. Gladstone was a great shock to Mr. Hawker, nor could he rest satisfied with Dr. Temple's very guarded reply as to his views of the obligation of assent to the doctrine of Apostolical Succession.

The opinion, which he scarcely took pains to conceal, as to the effect of John Wesley's work on the Cornish character will at the present day meet with scant sympathy except it be from those who have been at the pains to study the peculiarities of that singular province, but there are not a few parish priests of great experience and indefatigable zeal who have spent the best part of their lives in Cornwall who are compelled to confess, though it be with pain and regret, that at least in some parishes, the Cornish character has been corrupted and degraded.

Wesley—said Hawker—found the miners and fishermen an upstanding, rollicking, courageous people: he left them a down-looking selfish-hearted throng.

Probably, constitutionally dyspeptic in all matters affecting religious disposition, his painful address to Plymouth—as "The Withered Salem of the West"—was merely a symptom of chronic discontent with the lamentably low standard of religious life and thought then prevalent throughout the extreme end of the immense Diocese of Exeter.

His bitter expression of the orthodox views as to the principle of the offertory in his letter to Mr. John Walter, of Bearwood, "Because thou had'st no pity," shews unmistakeably how little he hesitated to do war with men of means and influence, nor was more than justice done to his memory when Dr. Lee vehemently rebuked the press for utterly misinterpreting the somewhat anomalous character of the obscure parish priest and poet on the bleak Cornish coast.

Perhaps it is well for the Secretaries of the present Church Conferences and Congresses that Robert Stephen Hawker was not spared to denounce them openly as "shallow and fruitless talk" and "babbling platitudes."

The dilemma in which Archbishop Tait and other Bishops found themselves at the time of the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act, in which the Bishop of Salisbury could alone claim exemption from complicity, was too much for him. With him, as with Dean Hook, such an Act was a "violation of principle."

Such are the salient features in the episcopate of the most remarkable of all the remarkable prelates who have sat on the throne of Leofric. He fell asleep on September 18th, 1869, and was interred at S. Mary Church, Torquay, and on 21st December, 1869, Frederick Temple was consecrated to the See of Exeter in his stead, inheriting a body of clergy and laity ripe for new and opportune developments of Christian energy.

Then, as if this Westernmost Province of England, once so eloquent of romance and so tenacious of the old Catholic Faith and Rites, was destined to be the arena for tournaments ecclesiastical, ever since the day when the challenge-glove was thrown down by Henry Phillpotts to the Court of Appeal by his absolute refusal to institute Mr. Gorham to the benefice of Brampford Speke, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish were visible on the faces of many of the most earnest and kindly of the Diocesan clergy. Nor was the iniquity of introducing on the Bench of Bishops the writer of an article who had any part or lot in Essays and Reviews to be tolerated or condoned.

Bishop Phillpotts had left to his successor a capitular council of undoubted ability. An older generation of thoughtful men, long connected with the county, such as Archdeacons Moore-Stevens, Downall and Bartholomew, gave place to men of riper scholarship and yet of a certain discreet timidity with respect

to the recent advances of the Oxford School of Anglican Catholics.

Of the older set, Canon Harold Browne had unquestionably been the ablest and most orthodox, Canon (afterwards Chancellor) Harington, the most deeply read, at least in Church History, while of the Prebendaries, John Fielder Mackarness was destined for the See of Oxford, and of the other members of the Greater Chapter who occupied stalls as residentiary Canons none gained more deservedly a reputation for sanctity and spiritual discernment than Sackville Lee, whose gentle generosity was unbounded, his personality also bearing, as some have thought, a peculiar resemblance to that of John Henry Newman, while of Freeman, subsequently Archdeacon of Exeter, and Vicar of Thorverton, there will ever remain the sweet fragrance of a highly sensitive, empirical and yet bright cheery soul, no less in the precincts of the Cathedral Close than amidst the fields and flowers of that old church and village near the brawling Exe.

These and other scholars of repute, such as Robert Scott, Charles Lyne and James Ford, went and came to their stalls in St. Peter's Church as the 19th century passed into its 5th, 6th and 7th decades.

All different phases of political and religious predilection became fairly represented by the year 1870, when the Broad Church needed no stronger exponent than the Bishop of Exeter, the High Church no keener or more persuasive than the Archdeacon of Exeter, the old Oxford School of historical Churchman none more just and judicious than Chancellor Harington and Canon Lee, the more cautious and accurate criticism of the academic clique finding a worthy champion in Archdeacon Woollcombe.

Exeter also was fortunate in possessing a diligent philologist and commentator in Canon Cook, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen and Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, whose larger experience

and cosmopolitan interests and affections constantly attracted to the City of Exeter learned savants from all parts of the continent, his long apprenticeship in educational matters and his wide acquaintance with a wide circle of high legal and scientific men of acknowledged attainments resulting in their frequent visits to the Cathedral Close.

In Henry Sanders—afterwards Archdeacon of Exeter—the old-fashioned school of courteous dominies, and the commercial families of honored reputation in the city found a good hearted and substantial representative, while Blundell's school could look with satisfaction on a master who could count the Bishop of London amongst his most loyal pupils.

The most popular and dramatic figure was at this time most assuredly Dean Boyd, whose Celtic eloquence and Protestant proclivities no less pleased the congregations of Exonians than of old they had won the attention of the educated at Cheltenham and Paddington.

Abrupt and often painfully brusque in manner when irritated, there was a deep sense of most hearty generosity and genuine affection in this excellent dignitary which on second thoughts amply compensated for the most violent exhibition of temper. Socially, a most courteous gentleman, ecclesiastically, he at times failed to see the obligations of reverence even in the most solemn offices of the sanctuary, but that his whole heart was not devoted to the best interests of the beautiful Church over which he had been set by the Crown as chief trustee, no one, who watched his keen attention to every matter of detail or knows what splendid bequests he left for almost every excellent and charitable object in the diocese, can assert.

A careful student of Cathedral customs and rites will have noted that as every new member of the body is incorporated he unconsciously alters his mode of reverence and deportment, and that within the last 20 years a very remarkable alteration has been made in all matters concerning the outward decencies of

religious functions no one can deny, who has had the opportunity of noting the succession of clergy who have taken their stalls in the Cathedral Church.

Nor does this remark refer only to the junior or inferior members of the Cathedral Church. There was a time, ever full of sorrowful memories, when if a Prebendary, such as a cadet of the house of Wrothesley Russell, made his obeisance to the high altar on passing from his seat in the nave to go to the pulpit on a Sunday afternoon, a perceptible titter would be perceived in the congregation and even a sneer of hardly concealed impatience disfigure the faces of the residentiary canons—a time when to turn to the East at the creed was a mark of extreme and almost extravagant churchmanship—when an early celebration of the Holy Communion was thought to savour of ultramontane leanings, and when, marvellous to relate, it was not thought inconsistent to oust from his position as Diocesan Inspector in Religious Knowledge for his membership of the English Church Union and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, a hard working clergyman, while the dignitaries in an easy indifference to all things canonical, except *otium cum stipendio*, repudiated their obligation in accordance with Canon and distinctly declared that if they had a cope and albes with tunicles they would not use them.

Those who remember the first years of the episcopate of Bishop Temple will recollect the somewhat shambling gait which characterised the carriage of the Chief Pastor of the Diocese and the disorderly way in which the whole staff of priests and lay clerks and boys found their way into the choir.

The Restoration of this exquisite Church, in 1877, which was not achieved at less cost than some £60,000, did not at once lead to any great improvement in the order or decency of the services. A painful and anomalous incongruity presented itself to the careful and pious worshipper. Here was an

ancient fane—robbed it was true, not only of its early wealth of jewels, vestments and precious things, but even renovated in a becoming and brilliant manner—in which the trustees and officiants were content to themselves appear in the most shabby and neglected ecclesiastical vestments, to enter the specially appropriated part of that sacred building apparently oblivious of the solemn duties to which they were assigned and to conduct an offering of praise and prayer to Almighty God without the slightest attempt at reverence of demeanour or any semblance of pious humility and devotion.

Not only so. The most sacred office of the Blessed Eucharist was rarely celebrated with due honor, once a month only a musical accompaniment being given, though it must be confessed the consistent perpetuity of Jackson's setting of the *Ter Sanctus* and *Gloria in Excelsis*, from the old connection of this famous musician with the Cathedral Church, was singularly appropriate. But when we assert that there was an utter absence of systematic order and decency in every accessary of this Holy Feast we shall not be guilty of exaggeration. The Table was indeed well loaded with immense dishes of historic and intrinsic value: there were numerous chalices and patens but there was an utter lack of other minor necessaries and accessaries, indispensable to a proper and seemly celebration of the Cœna Domini.

When the Holy Synaxis was thus made, there was but one vestige of primitive reverence left and that (it is to be hoped) as it redeemed the Blessed Sacrament of those days from thorough slovenlines, will ever remain as a safeguard and reminiscence of a period long past, when even old fashioned communicants were not afraid to shew their deference to the Lord of Glory.

At the time of the offertory it has always been customary for the celebrant to kneel or prostrate himself humbly before the altar, as he places his alms in the bason provided for that

purpose. In this he was and is followed by all the assistant clergy.

This humble obeisance has ever represented before God the suppliant attitude of the souls of the faithful on approaching these Holy Mysteries and redeemed the Perpetual Sacrifice of the Death of Christ as executed in the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, at Exeter, even in her most debased and afflicted days, from the terrible charge of deliberate sacrilege.

Happily for a new generation, clean and comely habits of vesture and postures of worship have been gradually adopted by priests and choir. Of the oldest priests of the diocese three or four yet remain who can relate circumstantially the terrible fraças which occured at S. Sidwell's Church, when an ever fearless and stalwart priest well nigh suffered death at the hands of the mob for appearing vested in surplice.

One other ancient custom may be also named. In the stead of the deacon who attended the celebrating priest at mass, the junior priest-vicar waits upon the celebrant and orders the elements and the Holy Table until the office is concluded.

Every service is now preceded by prayers in the Canons' vestry and also concluded with prayer.

The procession into the choir is at all times marshalled in an orderly and seemly manner, and the vergers who, of old time were the only guardians of order and not always devout in their behaviour during the holy offices, now themselves set an example of silence and attention.

Such happier and proper usages cannot fail to have a wide effect on the Churches of the Diocese.

Imperceptibly but most assuredly every member of the Cathedral Body ere he has been many weeks in residence and regular attendance at the daily services conforms to the ceremonial and ritual observances which have within the last few years obtained therein.

Nor is this conformity of habit and attitude external confined

to visible acts. The progress made has been sober and gradual and inoffensive. It was clear from the very first to all those who had opportunity to watch the deportment and utterances of the immediate predecessor of Bishop Bickersteth in the Episcopal Throne that as time went on, there was a struggle going on, not only with respect to outward demeanor, but as to spiritual teaching and Catholic doctrine. Whether it was that the beauty of the edifice, or the pleading power of harmonies coupled to God's word, wrought wondrously upon a truly sympathetic if somewhat rugged nature, is known alone to God (*qui omnia scit*), but certain it is that from an attitude of almost nervously muscular defiance, there developed a reverent and humble posture of submissive self surrender and oblation, and as for the change achieved in the manner and matter of Evangelical Catholic Truth and its delivery, vague and misty views of the cardinal doctrines of Atonement, Incarnation, Baptism, the Propitiatory Sacrifice, and Real Spiritual Presence, gave place to emphatically distinct and uncompromising pronouncements as to the Divine Son, the duties and privileges of the Church and the Supreme Inheritance of Her children, so that they who had with the full force of a fearful energy resolved to resist the appointment of a sceptic, possibly tainted with the Socinian poison, now could not be too thankful to acknowledge that their qualms were scarcely justified.

It was extremely improbable that the rough and hardy vegetable—*libido regnandi*—which may have been indigenous to the cold soil of Warwickshire and flourished in the hands of Dr. Arnold in the nursery of Rugby traditions and of Balliol, would find a congenial climate in the milder atmosphere of Devon, but in process of time administrative abilities allied with spontaneous acts of prompt and tender generosity went far in mitigating the somewhat rugged severity which almost invariably marked the treatment meted out by a firm hand to the less active and *dolce-far-niente* clergy in the more remote parts of this unmanageably large diocese.

We need not now trace the various changes which came over a mind and soul sorely tried and deeply anxious for a revelation, not as yet fully vouchsafed in the drier and harder atmosphere of scholastic and academic work, but "Rugby Sermons" and the letter on Sacrilege, in 1869—if compared with the spirit of the words adopted as text: "Who is on the Lord's side,"—shew how even the strongest wills have at times to yield homage to the All-ruling Paraclete.

To such a heart the defence of the Marriage Laws, no less than the ceaseless championship of the cruelly tempted drunkard have ever been and will ever be purposes of paramount obligation, while we are not compelled by any false ideas of obsequious loyalty and admiration to appraise the Bampton Lectures on the Relations of Science at the same value as those of Moberly and Goulburn.

When the See of London fell vacant, on the death of Bishop Jackson, Mr. Gladstone, as Premier, had no choice but to recommend his old supporter for the Metropolitan See, and on the translation of Bishop Temple to London, in 1885, fears were not unnaturally felt by all thoughtful churchmen as to the possible appointment of another eminent scholar whose abilities might be rather in the training of youth than in the presidence over an extensive spiritual jurisdiction and whose experiences lay rather in the forming of character in the coming generation than in friendly advice and co-operation with an educated class of men vested with high responsibilities.

Much had occurred, much had been done during the past fifteen years towards bringing the clergy together, in amalgamating useful elements of apparently heterogeneous nature and utility, in doing away with misunderstandings and setting the involved and complex machinery of the educational and parochial agencies of the undivided diocese in motion.

By the transference of a large portion of his income to the Bishop of Truro, the Bishop of Exeter would for the future

lose emolument but gain opportunity. His journeys would now no longer take him beyond the Tamar, on the South coast, and the romantic cliff village of Hartland on the North.

The greatest administrative abilities, even when combined with great physical strength, are obviously unequal to the duties of so onerous a position as that which is occupied by the Bishop of the Metropolis of Great Britain, and the choice of a colleague being not in a little degree determined by the conviction that the amenities of fashionable life sorely needed the courtier's graces and the diplomat's *savoir faire* so long as the sybarite and *dilettante* reign in the salons of Belgravia and Kensington, Alfred Earle, *alumnus Etonensis*, *quondam* Rector of Alvington in the South Hams, Archdeacon of Totnes, and for a brief span Canon residentiary of Exeter, was introduced as coadjutor under the title of Bishop of Marlborough.

Such a step at once proved to all that a leader of men, though of the Arnold type, may be conscious of his own weak points and will ever exhibit a keen discretion by associating with himself in situations of varied responsibility a character possessed of those very traits and graces in which he knows himself to be most deficient.

All classes of the community owe a great debt to Bishop Phillpotts, by whose foresight and generosity the larger schemes of religious and theological development were originally formed and endowed. It is impossible here to describe their purpose or progress, but certain it is that the Diocesan Board of Education, the Training College, the (as yet non-existent) Theological College, the Prayer Book Prize Fund, these and others of a like character testify to the wide and painful interest taken by this eminent controversialist in all that makes for the benefit of the laity, no less than of the clergy. From the latter, the Bishop expected, and insisted on, a high standard of education. Truro rejoices in the possession of his valuable library. His successor abjured and abhorred a listless apathetic habit

amongst the clergy, and marched from Dan to Beersheba, reckless of weather whims or wardens, lest it should be thought that the term "overseer" conveyed to his mind much *dignitas* and more *otium*. The supervision not of a "lord over God's heritage" but of "a fellow helper" receives the most beneficent illustration in the life of the next occupant of the See of Exeter. A regimen whose distinctive principle for well nigh fifty years had been, *fortiter in re*, may, without detriment or any loss of power, be changed for that of "*suaviter in modo*," when the crooked have been made straight and the rough places plain.

Under these circumstances, the whole of the ancient province comprised in the former Diocese of Exeter has undergone a very remarkable development of organisation, with the effect that it is well nigh impossible to conceive any need, spiritual or physical, for which adequate provision has not been made.

The moral difficulties which beset the young, the helpless, the sinful, the desperate are grappled with continually by innumerable Societies, not seldom with reduced funds, but always with hope and energy. Special institutions abound for coping with the more aggressive and painful assaults of evil in its most debased forms. All the larger towns and villages have excellently arranged Cottage Hospitals, frequently founded in the Jubilee year of Queen Victoria.

Lest names of honorable distinction in the forefront of the battle with ignorance and indifference should be forgotten in these busier days, it is well to remember, with special pertinence, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, that of Acland, of Brereton, of Fortescue and of Hawker, who in a darker age strove to move the agricultural classes to an ambition for higher education, and an intelligent appreciation of their peculiar opportunities. Recently Archdeacon Sandford hesitated not for a moment to champion the cause of the Voluntary Schools of the Church of England, counting the cold consent

of many shorter sighted friends as a very little obstacle in his determined advocacy of the principal of confederation, if only he might weld them into one mighty weapon for the defence of the Church of England.

The annual examination of the Voluntary and Elementary Schools in the Diocese, which was originally conducted by unpaid inspectors, is now carried on by one senior inspector with the assistance of one subordinate. The pupil teachers and monitors are also periodically examined in religious knowledge by the past and present Principals of the Exeter Training College.

While in the Exeter diocese 152 teachers passed in 1894, and in that of Truro 230 schools were opened for examination in Scripture, it is much to be regretted that very few of the clergy themselves personally gave religious instruction in their schools or to the pupil teachers and monitors.

Dean Cowie—to whom the mother church owes in great part the beauty of her offices in the days of her orderly and comely recreation—a scholar of no mean repute, Gresham lecturer, a man of unqualified determination in the teaching of Catholic Truth by objective means—had not long been installed at Exeter before he turned his eyes on the Cathedral Choir School, with a view to its being supported by a larger share of the capitular funds. This, the first Cathedral Choir School in England, had been established in 1856 by Rev. E. T. Foweraker, the chapter of that day promising to send their choristers as boarders. Shortly after its foundation, Dean Brodrick, afterwards Lord Midleton, who had succeeded Dean Ellicott in 1863, took the children of the choir under his special protection, thereby asserting his agreement with the wise opinion of Archbishop Tait, "that the Cathedral School is more precious than the Cathedral Fabric."

A grand opportunity has been here for many years lost. With the assistance of the Bishop and the co-operation of the

College of Vicars, the lads, nourished in the arms of the mother church, should have an immutable claim on her protection and support. After a boy's voice has cracked, he should be under the special care of the Canon of Pastoral Theology in one of the numerous old houses in the Close, where he might assist in the library and at the most critical period of life study under a bright and solemn discipline until his voice was restored when he would be admitted to sub-deacon's orders and qualify for a vicarship.

Subsequently, if thought desirable, he might be admitted to the diaconate This system of gradual promotion would improve the status of lay vicars and furnish the staff of the Cathedral with additional clergy, to whom might, as occasion arose, various duties be severally assigned, in accordance with ancient custom and statute. An aged vicar of the choir, by name John Kemp, deceased in recent years who had spent over three score years in the sanctuary.

In reviewing the aggressive and increasing work of the Church throughout the now divided Diocese, a fair estimate is best obtained, not by enumerating the institutions and organizations already active at work, but by noting the very large extent to which the help and co-operation of the laity has been secured.

The licensed lay readers now working in the Diocese of Exeter number over 120 : in that of Truro, 50.

The committees of the Conference furnish irrefragable testimony to the sanguine assertion of some of the more hopeful of the clergy that the Church of England is now, at least, in touch with the people in all that makes for their temporal and eternal good.

It is instructive to observe how largely the ranks of these consultative bodies are recruited from the Bench of Justices of the Peace throughout the two counties, so that every even distant part of each diocese has its qualified representative in

the Provincial Council of the Church. In addition to this wide dissemination of information on religious and ecclesiastical matters throughout the county districts, by men of education and landed interests, there is a large proportion of medical and professional men who introduce into the deliberations of the Conference different elements of thought and experience, eminently helpful.

It would be invidious to name any particular persons where all are so distinguished for sincerity of purpose and sacrifice of time. The only subject for regret is that the subsequent fruits, naturally to be expected as the results of so representative an assembly, are of extremely slow development and not infrequently never attain maturity. This arises from the unavoidable complexity and number of the subjects which are annually brought before the Conference. It is much to be feared that there is no remedy for this evil but a drastic ukase forbidding all subjects being discussed at the annual Conference which have been thoroughly sifted by any committee and on which a vote has been taken with only a small majority in favor of reference to the Conference. The administrative ability of this Provincial Council of the Church is unfortunately out of all proportion to its practical opportunities, but as a means for the reconciliation of misunderstandings, and the diffusion of useful knowledge on all things relative to the work of the Church such synods are invaluable.

The Church Congress held at Plymouth, in 1876, was but a limited success.

The purpose of the Church Congress, of 1894, held in the City of Exeter, on October 9th, and three following days, could not have failed, when it is remembered that over 6,000 tickets were taken, and that a fully representative assembly of clergy and laity, under the presidence of the Diocesan, discussed some of the most pressing questions of religious development and social reformation. There was a gratifying absence of that old spirit

of theological bias and banter which had prevented for many years the reconciliation of the Evangelical Puritan and Evangelical Catholic sections of churchmen. From the numerous visitors who flocked to the City of Exeter, one voice only of gratitude was heard for large open-hearted hospitality and courtesy. That even educated laymen have still a good deal to learn of technical theology was apparent from the altogether marvellous confession with which the editor of a well-known critical periodicl prefaced an otherwise lucid speech, he fearlessly asserting that the Church even in her formularies allowed the greatness of the mystery of the true Nature of Deity by admitting that God was "incomprehensible"—in the public use of the Creed of S. Athanasius.

At this epoch of Church energy, and specially in these two —the westernmost counties of England, it could not fail to strike the casual reader of the numerous reports from all parts of the Diocese of Exeter and Truro, that if in some very few remote villages the highest pitch of interest and work is not attained by the parish priest, or the flock committed to his charge, the large towns such as Plymouth, Devonport, Stonehouse, Falmouth, Camborne, Penzance, Barnstaple and Tiverton are now fully supplied with earnest unwearied clergy, backed up by thoughtful laymen of education and means, in touch with the poor, uncompromising enemies of narrow sectarian animosity, and yet resolutely set against the sacrifice and surrender of their Church Schools, lacking only adequate funds to carry on *sans peur et sans reproche* the glorious work of the Church, Anglican and Catholic.

In the great and largely increasing favorite sea-side resorts, Ilfracombe, Lynton, Newquay, Salcombe, Paignton, Torquay, Teignmouth, Dawlish, Exmouth and Budleigh Salterton, the immense influx of visitors, invalid, convalescent, and on pleasure bent, has been instrumental in stirring up a development of church building and energy which is without parallel.

If the cause of Foreign Missions has in the more remote villages lain almost forgotten as in the corner of some old recess, there are not wanting reasons sufficiently palliating for any seeming neglect in the past. The puzzling variety of objects now claiming attention and alms—and all highly commendable, —precludes the possibility of sympathy being extended to all. Specially has this been the case in Cornwall since the building and fitting up of the new Cathedral has been so nobly undertaken. But in Devon the interests of Foreign Missions have not been overlooked since the appointment of a Canon to whom has been assigned by Bishop Bickersteth the duty of organizing and developing the numerous agencies already active throughout his Diocese. Canon Trefusis, the first appointed under this excellent scheme, inherited in his office the most valuable traditions on which to kindle a splendid enthusiasm in a failing cause. Turn which way the traveller may from the Cathedral City, he meets with suggestions of the valiant Saints who have sown the world with the seed of their blood. Will he make his way to the pleasant native brook of Coleridge the Otter, he passes the monument raised by the Lord Chief Justice to the memory of John Coleridge Patteson, Bishop of Melanesia, who was killed on September 20, 1871, at Nukapu, in expiation of the outrages committed by white men. Sperne Cross speaks to the wayfarer of this noble life. Above him is perched the little church of Alfington, where he served his first curacy and which contains the flag, wrapped round his body. Away to the north, half hidden in the trees, peeps out Feniton Court, the home of his childhood.

A few miles to the coast brings him to the old home of the Cornish family at Salcombe Regis, or should the traveller descend to the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, across the Exe, there he finds the memorial to Bishop Medley, first Bishop of Fredericton and Metropolitan of Canada, author of many excellent works on Church Government. Thence wending

his way towards the ancient Cathedral Church of Kirton, he bethinks him of the Saxon Wynfrith. But to every eye that revels in the splendid vista of Decorated architecture, so exquisitely exemplified in the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, at Exeter, amidst all the brilliant contrast of colour in precious stone, jewelled window and sculptured boss and corbel, more quietly full of appealing grace is the pulpit of soft gray warm Penkridge stone which was erected to commemorate the death and labours of Christian martyrs from St. Alban to "Coley." Another monument of more recent erection also bears testimony to the untiring zeal of Horden, Bishop of Moosonee. Nor does the more familiar, more humble and less known name of Townsend escape a thankful student and lover of the noble army who have in the wild field of Foreign Missions endured hardness and laid down their own lives for the Crucified.

Bishop Hannington should not be forgotten: curate of a North Devon parish, missionary in Africa, fearless, open-hearted, genuine and unsophisticated, his last words, as exhausted by fever he was dragged over the rough ground by his legs, were those of perfect resignation and trust:

"Lord, I put myself in Thy hands, I look to Thee alone."

The quieter and less demonstrative cause of Home Missions —a most important branch of Diocesan work—has received definite promotion under the superintendence of another of the Residentiary Canons, with the assistance of one of the most active city clergy (of whom his birthplace may fairly be proud), and of one of the most active laymen in the work of Church Defence. The results cannot be considered inadequate when we look at the limited sphere to which such efforts were confined, partly it may be on account of the dissimilarity of views obtaining in the different parishes of the diocese, and also on account of the irrepressible though mistaken conviction that the visit of a Canon Residentiary *formâ apostoli* may

result in a quasi-assertion of patronizing suggestions or hints of information to headquarters. The Warden is Canon Atherton.

But the wider sphere of action and interest thrown open to the Cathedral Chapter will at least have the salutary effect of destroying that barrier or middle wall of suspicion which rendered a former generation of capitular celebrities *monstrum nefandum* to the parochial clergy. A singularly disproportionate estimate escaped the lips of an eminent Dignitary of the Cathedral Church when in the presence of a Royal Commission on Cathedral Reform, he guaged the disposition of the diocesan clergy to his own Corporate Body at the small value of 2d. Even in these halcyon days of earnestness and activity the Cathedral Chapter and Church can never be considered as a just epitome of general diocesan life and energy. Indeed, the restoration of Exeter Cathedral in 1877, was a matter of infinitesimally small importance to the diocese compared with the renovation of spiritual agencies, and with the re-organization of the capitular responsibilities in which Bishop Bickersteth was much assisted by Providence, all the stalls falling vacant in a very brief period.

If viewed side by side with the foundation of the See of Truro, and the building of Truro Cathedral, it was an affair of third-rate interest to the English Church at large, what warning the Episcopal and Cathedral intellects might jointly reap from the Royal Commissions on Cathedral Reform, which had for 50 years threatened terrible revolutions in income, independence, discipline.

In 1847, a tentative measure had been proposed by Lord John Russell for the formation of the See of Cornwall; in 1854, Dr. Walker, Rector of S. Columb Major, offered his advowson and Rectory as a nucleus for the endowment; the next year Bishop Phillpotts offered to give up £500 of his income to be relieved of the Cornish province: finally, after many provoking disappointments and delays, in 1875, Bishop

Temple allowed it to be announced by Mr. Edward Carlyon, who had long exerted himself with indefatigable zeal for this purpose, that he would forfeit £800 to be enabled to devote his all ready overtaxed energies to the county of Devon. The far seeing wisdom of Henry of Exeter had already persuaded the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to promise the proceeds of one of the suspended canonries at Exeter for the endowment of the Cornish See.

A little-expected *Dea ex machinâ* then appeared in the person of Lady Rolle, with a gift of £40,000, with which encouragement it was not so difficult for those interested in this bold and noble scheme to urge Lord Cross to bring in a Bill for the restoration of the Cornish See.

By an Order in Council, dated December 15, 1876, the Bishopric of Truro was founded.

A more fortunate choice of chief Pastor for the new Diocese could not have been made when Edward White Benson, Chancellor and Canon Residentiary of Lincoln Cathedral, was consecrated Bishop of Truro, on St. Mark's Day, 1877. His installation and enthronement took place on the Feast of SS. Philip & James.

It was impossible for any man nurtured in the school of classical lore, under Prince Lee, and with the associations of Trinity College, Cambridge, if gifted with any even transitory enthusiasm for the prestige of the English Branch of the Church Catholic, to resist the power of the saintly eloquence of St. Hugh, as seen in the Cathedral Church of St. Mary, at Lincoln.

The mineral wealth of Cornwall was nothing compared to the traditional treasures of saintly romance with which that church was brightly endowed. Succeeded by a prelate of excellent piety, and yet it may at times have been, *in camerâ* confessed, of too refined and gentle unction for the rough Cornish character, the first Bishop of Truro lived to see another occupant of the See continue the structural and economical

construction of the Cathedral Church with much success, and to personally bless the completion of a design which for exquisite beauty and grace excels any in the Kingdom.

After a six years episcopate, during which the efforts of every class of the community in the Cornish peninsula were strained to their utmost limit to complete the fabric of the new Cathedral Church which rose out of the ancient parish church of St. Mary, Dr. Benson was translated to Canterbury and St. Peter's, Eaton Square, one of the most fashionable churches of the metropolis, was deprived of its Rector that he might introduce some of the amenities of the more æsthetic type of religious unction to the favourable attention of the Cornish fishermen and miners. How far this peculiar type of sacred æsthetics was capable of adaptation to their idiosyncrasies was a subject of deep anxiety to all who have studied this remarkable clan.

That an intensely energetic apprenticeship for the Episcopate, at Leeds, was better calculated to exert an irresistible influence upon the same generation, even under entirely different climatic and industrial conditions, few even in the last five years of the century would dare to doubt

Dr. Wilkinson, on his resignation of the See of Truro, was succeeded by Dr. Gott, whose work as Vicar of Leeds Parish Church was another stone of precious worth added to the fabric begun by Dean Hook, but those only who have given their soul's strength in the North and in the Black country know how terrible is the lack of reciprocal self-sacrifice, of helpful energy, and of sympathetic assistance experienced in the milder but less murky atmosphere of the South Western counties.

The climatic conditions seem to militate against discreet enthusiasm. The humid atmosphere deprecates physical exertion but it is yet left to ardent lovers of the Church, with firm faith in Her ultimate victory, to try new experiments in

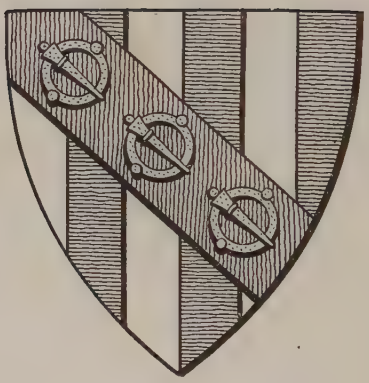
bringing the great mining and fishing population to see that their true mother is the same ancient Church of England which existed in the days of Petrock and Piran.

Further than this, there are acts of conscientious reparation, to be expected for the endowment of benefices and the assistance of the destitute and afflicted, as from the house of Russell.

Acts also there will be of generous beneficence from a Tangye and a Bolitho which will testify to the paramount claim which the Church never ceases to assert with success on those who under her wing have won honor and wealth and are not ashamed to be called her sons.

DEO ADJUVANTE, FORTUNA SEQUATUR.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX A.

The Ordinalia or Cornish Dramas.

The authorship of the Cornish Dramatic Mysteries can scarcely in justice be laid to the charge of any one of the Fellows of Exeter College or to the Canons of Glasney. Where it otherwise, he might be set down as an excellent plagiarist who, with some knowledge of popular taste and an adept at vulgar Cornish parlance, had picked up the gospel of Nicodemus and the "Cursor Mundi" and supplied the theatrical necessities of the Church. Poems of such description were in demand in the 14th and 15th centuries, and the lyric termed "Mount Calvary," consisting of 259 stanzas of 8 lines, cannot be earlier than 1350.

The whole Bible history is included in another series of mysteries, from the creation of the world to Pilate's Death.

A later Drama exists in another setting of the Creation with Noah's flood, written on 12th August, 1611, by William Jordan. The presence of many English words and the corrupt style of language shews that by that time the "intrusive Saxon" was expelling the genuine Celtic. There are also two versions of the Lord's Prayer and Belief, a wretched rendering of the 1st chapter of Genesis, some songs and familiar proverbs, and a short tale. In the modest style of schoolboy drawing, daubed with paint, is the History of the Crucifixion illustrated.

A certain "John Keigwin, Gent., in the year 1693," translated the "Creation of the World," but the other ordinalia remained untouched, a word which as generally used of a Church order or service book, plainly shews the sense of their nature and purpose. They were lessons in church-doctrine and Bible-truth.

If in some respects these Cornish plays lack originality of treatment, they also are devoid of the excessively gross comedy which formed so large a part of the well known French, Latin and English Dramas. At the same time the sarcastic and comic element prevails largely, but the fact that the whole style of setting in the play and certain clumsy vernacular expressions tell of a mind neither by habit of thought nor diction familiar with the the Cornish tongue leads to the theory that some at least were written by strangers to the county. There was unquestionably much that now seems indelicate and profane, but we must not think of the impression now produced upon a modern audience but upon one of the date when they were written. The three principle plays form a Trilogy, the chief actor calling upon the audience at the end of the day's performance to come again to-morrow early to see the next play. The Ober-Ammergau of Cornwall was St. Just. At Perranzabulo, also, there was an amphitheatre, and as these Dramas were played in the great amphitheatres of the Cornish Coast with large audiences in a wide open space, there was no need for the detachment of small separate acts into which the Chester and Coventry Mysteries are divided. Here there was no want of space, as in a narrow church or crowded street of high-roofed houses, where every guild carried its own high scaffold, containing but two rooms, where the players dressed and acted.

In the Round or Plen-an-guare—a local name preserved near Redruth—which still remains close to St. Just Churchtown and the principal Inn, a

stone wall about four feet high marks the outline of the circus clearly, whilst a green bank slopes inwards. A pathway leads through it from the town to the market place and here the village boys play. The seven benches are of stone or turf as at Piranzabulo, where the theatre is very regularly marked and has a ditch on the outside: the earthen mound is eight feet high: the top is seven feet wide. In the area (which is 130 feet in diameter) there is a pit 13 feet wide, 3 feet deep, with sloping sides, and half way down a bench of turf. This hollow may have served for Hell and in the Resurrection Drama for the grave.

The scene presented must have been remarkable in the extreme. The great bare granite plain of St. Just, Cape Cornwall, in the distance, against which the mighty ocean beat with ceaseless roar. Could any mortal structure in a mighty city equal in grandeur that simple spot, round which with gay booths and sounds of loud merriment the swarming thousands pitched their temporary home and with unsuppressed delight witnessed the awful tragedy of Human Fall and Divine Redemption?

Carew, however, describes a different scene which must seriously have tried the risible faculties of the audience.

"They raise, 'he wrote in 1602,' an earthen amphitheatre in some open field, having the Diameter of his own enclosed Playne some 40 or 50 feet. The country people flock from all sides, many miles off, to hear and see it; for they have therein devils and devices, to delight as well the eye as the eare; the players conne not their parts without booke, but are prompted by one called the ordinary (and here comes in the comic incident), who followeth at their back with the booke in his hand, and telleth them softly what they must pronounce aloud: which manner once gave occasion to a pleasant gentleman, of practising a mery pranke: for he undertaking (perhaps of set purpose) an actors roome, was accordingly lessoned (before hand) by the ordinary, that he must say after him. His turn came: quoth the ordinary, 'goe forth after him and shew thyselfe.' The gentleman steps out upon the stage and like a bad Clarke in Scripture matters, cleaving more to the letter than the sense, pronounced those words aloud. Oh (says the fellowe softly in his eare) you marre all the play. And with this, his passion, the Actor makes the Audience in like sort acquainted. Hereon the promptor falles to flat rayling and cursing in the bitterest terms he could devise: which the gentleman with a set gesture and countenance still soberly related, until the ordinary, driven at last into a madde rage, was faine to give over all, which trousse though it brake off the Enterlude, yet defrauded not the beholders but dismissed them with a greate deal more sport and laughter than 20 such guaries could have afforded."

The Miracle Play served its age and for that age, yet not merely as a teaching method of the Cornish Church for its persistent adherence to the nomenclature of towns, hamlets and ancient remains assure its unabated continuance. Of the two distinct classes into which the Celtic language is divisible, the Cymric, as distinguished from the Gaelic, includes the Welsh, Cornish and Armoric, but the possession of a genitive case in the Cornish redeems it from the alleged Cymric deficiency as regards declension, and renders it probable that Cornish was the representative of a language once current all over South Britain.

While on one hand the affinity between Welsh and Cornish is very close, the close resemblance of the latter to the Breton patois of the present day is incontrovertible. When the Cornish Ordinalia were written, they were written for the amusement and edification of the people, not as works of permanent value: hence, in all probability, they would be unintelligible to a Cornishman of even the 17th century, when the language was well nigh

dead, and this may account for the half-apologetic explanation which Scawen, a native, made when speaking of the pronunciation, he advised that Cornish should not be gutturally pronounced as Welsh for the most part is, nor mutteringly as the Armoric, nor whiningly as the Irish (which two latter qualities seem to have been contracted from their servitudes), but must be lively and manly spoken like other tongues. The last eminent Cornish scholar departed this life in the person of John Keigwin, in 1710.

A few of the names of places mentioned in these plays will serve to illustrate the tenacious significance of Cornish names and families.

Carnsew, a black rock, a farm two miles from Penryn: the estate abounds in great moorstone rocks.

Penryn is the head of the wier, Ruan, Ryne or Rin, signifying the channel pool or run of water.

Carvenar or Carmenar—(*v* being often substituted for *m*), a manor in the parish of Mawgan—giving name to an ancient family, a member of which became Sheriff of Cornwall in 1379, and asserted his right against Lord Scrope of bearing for his arms, *Azure a bend or*, inasmuch as they had borne them since the conquest and that they were Cornish Britons, indeed, in the time of King Arthur, while if the place called Merthyn could, as as some high authorities suggest, stand for Merlin, we are immediately transferred back to the Round Table, Camelot and all the legendary glories of that wondrous reign.

Fekenel, Carmenow and Merthyn are in "The Crucifixion" mentioned as three places of ill omen which Pilate gives to the gaoler who incarcerates Joseph and Nicodemus.

Camden amplified the old bye word as to the Cornish prefixes, so as to run:

By Tre, Ros, Pol, Lan, Caer, Pen,
You may know most Cornish men,

and many of the most striking family names and coats of arms represent words of the native vocalubary, such as three frogs in Tre-vonick, three birds in Tre-woof, three owls in Tre-wolla, three stone pillars in Tre-menheere, three spindles in Tre-fusis, three bears feet in Tre-barfoot.

APPENDIX B.

The Episcopal Registers. Office of the Registrar, Palace Gate, Exeter.

The Episcopal Registers are and have been for many years kept in an iron fire-proof safe in the chambers of the Registrar, at the entrance of the Palace Gate.

Their condition is excellent: the binding serviceable and strong.

The utmost courtesy and civility is at all times extended to any qualified student who has a wish and adequate knowledge to consult them. To the ordinary reader they are closed treasures of the long past, as, written in the contemporary court hands of the various periods from 1256 to the seventeenth century, they defy his simple experience of ordinary nineteenth century type and the vulgar tongue. At most hours of most days they are accessible, but it is desirable that the student should be fully persuaded in his own mind that he knows exactly the subject on which he proposes to consult them. Unless he has had a fair apprenticeship at deciphering such manuscripts and has mastered the principles of mediæval caligraphy, he will be wise in obtaining the assistance of one of the qualified readers in the City of Exeter,

These are few in number. Their charges vary according to the nature of the search and the number of folios.

A valiant and most laudable essay is being made by the Rev. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, one of the non-residentiary Canons of the Cathedral, Rector of Ringmore, near Ivybridge, to print these invaluable volumes.

This he is doing by way of index only, with notes and preface, accompanied by copious extracts from the originals.

Such a task involves unspeakable and unbroken attention. It is most devoutly to be desired that such an attempt will be widely appreciated by the more thoughtful section of students who are ill content with second-hand historical data and desire original and unimpeachable facts.

It is no less most heartily to be wished that the Editor may be granted many years of clear eyesight, facile hand, and resolute will, with perfect health to complete the task.

No more convincing testimony can be in any way offered to the eyes of the people in our parishes as to the unbroken continuity of the English branch of the Catholic Church than a list of the names of the successive Rectors or Vicars, from the earliest to the present time. Such a table or catalogue plainly engraved or carved on a metal or wooden diptych and fastened up in a prominent place has speaking power to all.

The series at present printed includes those marked with an asterisk in the following list.

THE EPISCOPAL REGISTERS.

INDEX TO INSTITUTIONS.

No.	Vol.	Bishop.	Date.	Page.
1	..	*Bronscombe	1257	1
2	..	*Stapledon	1307	..
3	I.	*Grandisson	1329	21
4	II.	,, ...	..	39
5	III.	,, ...	..	41
6	.	Brentingham	1370	43
8, 9	..	*Stafford	1395	61
10, 11	..	Lacey	1420	82
..	..	,, ...	1429	90
		Nevill, Booth, Courtenay, Fox, King	1465	112
12	..	Nevill	1456	126
		Redmayne	1497	135
		Arundel	1502	140
13	..	Oldham	1504	144
14, 15	..	Veysey *alias* Harman	1519	153
16	..	Coverdale	1551	167
17	..	Coverdale and Veysey (restored) ..	..	..
18	..	Turberville and Alley .. .	1555	172
19	..	Alley	1563	181
20	..	Bradbridge	1571	187
21	..	Wolton and Babington	1587	200
..	..	Cotton and Cary	1589	209
22	..	Hall	1627	221
23	..	Hall and Brownrigg	1637	228

1	..	Gauden	1660	234
2	..	Sparrow and Lamplugh	1676	244
3	..	Lamplugh and Trelawny	1680	250
4	.	Trelawny	..	262
5	..	Blackall and Blackburn ..	1707	270
6	..	Blackburn and Weston	1722	279
7	..	Weston, Claggett and Lavington .	1736	291
8	..	Lavington	1750	304
9	..	Keppel	1762	..
10	..	John Ross	1778	..

The Episcopal Registry in the Cathedral Church.

Over the Chapel of S. James is a lofty chamber, pierced with windows looking east and west. On shelves reaching to the roof and in two open cases placed parallel in the centre of this apartment are all manner of parchment and paper documents concerning the condition of the Diocese from the end of the sixteenth century. These it is here impossible to specify or describe in detail. They include duplicates of Parochial Registers surrendered to the Bishop's Registrar in accordance with the canon. Some of these are of early date, but none are earlier than 1580. They are unfortunately in great disorder: no system has been carried out in their arrangement, save that to a certain extent they are labelled as to Archdeaconries and centuries. They are of great value in many instances where pedigrees are traced or property is at stake. Colonel Vivian made much use of them in his Visitations, and to his care in great measure is the small degree of order in which they are parcelled to be now attributed.

On application to the Bishop's Registrar search is made by one of his clerks, where necessary, for a very reasonable charge.

The remaining documents consist of batches of Presentations, Consecrations, Licences, Faculties, Dispensations *et hoc genus omne*.

A few inventories and wills in a tattered condition remain.

On shelves beneath the east window of this room are innumerable papers of the Peculiar Jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter, principally of the early seventeenth century. These include presentments, letters, and other similar official or semi-official correspondence.

Miscellaneous Documents of the Consistorial Court.

In a chamber built on a massive timber floor thrown across the back of the vault above the far-famed Minstrels' Gallery, on the north side of the nave of the Cathedral Church, there has been deposited at various periods a most heterogeneous jumble of records.

This room is lighted by a large window which appears at the top of the

north tower, under which the north aisle of the nave is entered. On the west side of this entrance appears a door, approached by three steep steps, and on entering a still steeper and very narrow flight of stairs leads to the ancient dwelling place of the Treasurer's deputy or servant. This is a contracted suite of dismal apartments containing the necessary scullery and other domestic offices on a very diminutive scale, badly lighted and infamously ventilated. But here before the days of sanitary enthusiasm lived an aged couple, who could watch through a narrow window the inside of the sacred building and also mark the approach of all persons coming across the cathedral cemetery from St. Martin's Lane and other directions. Above these rooms is another apartment, and here were found a few tattered volumes of official reports of the Court of the Archdeacon of Exeter, chucked down as it were by some desperate hand at the coming of those degenerate days when Church Discipline and Canon Law have lost their meaning and their business.

Through another thick wooden door, up a shaky flight of wooden stairs and we turn the key in a rusty lock, when a melancholy sight presents itself.

Round the two sides of a chamber, 40 feet high, appears shelf over shelf packed with batches and bales of materials, with the look of ancient leather or fish. These are inventories, wills and testamentary depositions, libels, articles, presentments and other similar paraphernalia of the now antiquated ecclesiastical procedure.

From nails hang immense batches of sentences, allegations and articles of libel.

Upon the left side on entering, over the gangway, are to be seen piles of tea chests filled to the top with depositions of witnesses in almost every conceivable action, including breach of promise, libel, adultery, intestacy, &c.

Many of these from being heavily pressed by the superincumbent weight of other documents, after having been soaked with rain dripping from the far from perfect roof, present the appearance of spongey flakes of slate. Others have a purple and mottled appearance. More are worm eaten. A great many crumble at the touch and fall to dust.

The floor was strewn with sheets of paper of royal foolscap size, rent from the immense Instance Books of the seventeenth century.

In a large box, heaped on with exquisite confusion, are lying Books of Precedents, Account Books, Bills of Costs, dating from 1650. Amongst these and others are found Episcopal Visitations throughout the Diocese, from 1603.

Against the east wall lie the most valuable, but to the ordinary eye most insipid of all the bulky volumes which sleep in dust and ignominy within this ghostly chamber, the books of Instances and Depositions of the Consistorial Court, from 1530 to 1600. The interest of this period can scarcely be exaggerated for students of the History of the Church of England. The greater number of these are bound in stout skin. It is needless to attempt to define the exact points of importance on which these unknown books throw the utmost light.

That there should be no fund for the purpose of arranging and cataloguing this incomparable collection of original and as yet unsearched strata of historical facts is, to say the least, sad.

That they would repay trouble—at least to wealthy and studious dilettanti—cannot be doubted, but a regular course of work amongst these materials has convinced not one or two enthusiastic students of these precious remains that to do justice to them, their trustee should appoint a qualified man at an adequate salary, who would devote two or three years to a resolute endeavour to prevent the records of the Consistorial Court at so critical an era of English History from further decay and irreparable damage.

In summer it is possible with an apron and the panoply of a *femme de chambre* to attack for a short time this mass of daily perishing documentary lumber, but in winter both temperature and lack of light forbid any such attempt. All that has at present been done is to arrange the numerous volumes of Instances and Depositions in some sort of chronological order.

Amongst a recent find of some interest may be mentioned an autograph letter from Lady Dorothy Wadham (A.D. 1588).

It would appear that this out of the way chamber has been used as a receptacle for obsolete and useless documents.

Many shelves are occupied with papers concerning the manors of the Capitular Body previous to their sale to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and other previous purchasers. These are of little obvious value, but might be useful for reference.

The letters also of different parties concerned in the sale of such estates are not unedifying, while to those who study the fall in the value of landed property and similar matters of agricultural import they would furnish much food for reflection.

APPENDIX C.

Documents in the Custody of the Chapter Clerk.

These are deposited in three different places. (1) In closed glass cases in the New Library over the S.W. Cloister are placed the most famous MSS. parchments. These include Exeter Domesday Book, Leofric's Mycel Englise Boc (circa 1000), and others of later date and inferior value, both scientific and liturgical. With these are the earliest charters of Canute, and the Confessor.

In this room is kept the Calendar of MSS. hereinafter described. It was compiled by Stuart Moore, in 1877, at great cost. The documents herein referred to are preserved in two chambers.

(2) This is an ancient room, with an opening outlet in the south wall, over the double chapel of St. Andrew and St. Catharine, whence it is approached by a contracted staircase in the thickness of the wall. Cases and tiers of drawers round the walls contain the almost innumerable parchments and papers which may justly be expected to accrue in the Record Chamber of a Corporate Body which dates back for at least 800 years.

Unhappily this apartment is not adequately heated or ventilated and the ravages of damp and dry rot are, and have been for many years, completing the neglect of centuries.

The system of classification is simple and has been courageously and consistently carried out. Continued study, however, in this room is not any more possible than in the others before named, and its aspect towards the North is unfavourable.

(3) When the new cloister was built, a room was constructed over the Library for the convenience of the Chapter Clerk. Hither were recently removed the parchment rolls included in numbers 2000-3000, and the Act Books of the Chapter, with most of the more interesting works, classed under figures 3500-3548.

Calendar of the MSS., Charters, Deeds, Signs Manual, Acts, Registers, Wills, Court Rolls, Obit Books, Bailiffs' Accounts, Leases, Rare Works, Statutes and other Original Evidences now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, from A.D. 900-1830.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

No.

1-580 DEEDS. Charters and Deeds relating to tenements in the City of Exeter, as far as possible under Localities and Streets.

600-2066 DEEDS. Similar Charters and Deeds relating to places outside Exeter, under Parishes, such as Ashburton, Bampton, Dawlish, &c.

2070-2512 MISCELLANEOUS CHARTERS. Saxon Royal Grants, Licenses of Mortmain, Statutes of Bishops, Agreements, Appropriations, Wills and other documents generally, belonging to places and persons in the Counties of Devon and Cornwall, Charter of Canute, the Confessor, &c., Aethelred.

2570-2586 ADDITIONAL MSS. of like nature, concerning all parts of the Diocese, Buckfastleigh, Culmstock, Sutton-on-Plym, &c.; S. Piran, Bodmin, S. Sennen, S. Burian.

2600-2704 THE FABRIC ROLLS OF THE CATHEDRAL. These are the accounts of the Custos operis or Foreman during the successive restorations and building of the Church of Exeter. They are peculiarly valuable, extending from the year 1279 to 1520, and are full of all manner of curious information.

2705-2776 ROTULI DEBITORUM. Parchment Rolls of the Bailiffs, Accounts of receipts and disbursements in the different manors belonging to the Cathedral Chapter. These furnish a most circumstantial picture of the conditions of tenure, and the Services, rents and other obligations which remained as relics of the feudal system for 600 years.

2777-2844 ROTULI COMPOTORUM SENESCALLORUM SCACCARII. Parchment Rolls of the Stewards of the Exchequer or Treasurers of the Cathedral finances: these offer an almost unbroken chain of evidence from the end of the 13th century to the days of Henry VIII.

2845-2982 MISCELLANEOUS ROLLS. These are in many respects more valuable than any other MSS. in the collection, as they give a vivid description of social life in Devon and Cornwall, with names and descriptions of persons.

3000-3215 CONGES D'ESLIRE. Comprising congés for election of Bishops of the See, mandates for election of dignitaries, convocation clerks, certificates of induction, installation, &c., citations, &c. One of the first is the certificate of Archbishop Cranmer of the consecration and mandate for admission of Bishop Miles Coverdale.

3498-3499 LETTERS AND PAPERS. Arranged chronologically when possible: these are included in 2 volumes thus numbered respectively: the earliest date is 1306. Amongst other documents, genealogical and official, are the pedigrees of the Briwer and Stapeldon families, Royal mandates for subsidies, proclamation, signs manual, confirmations of Admiralty Jurisdiction, letters commendatory.

3500-3548 ANCIENT MSS. BOOKS. These are Exon Domesday, the Saxon MS. of Leofric, Grandisson's Ordinale and Legenda (2 vols.), Gadesden's Rosa Medicine (14th cent.), Psalter (12th cent.), Higden's Polichronicon, Lacy's Pontifical, Wydford's tract against Wicliff, Quivil's Synodus, Bocacio, 2 curious Heraldic MSS., a MS. of Hoker with illustrations by Hogenbergius.

3550-3586 ACT BOOKS OF THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER These, with few intervals, give a consecutive history of the management and internal economy of the Cathedral from its foundation to the present time: they contain copies of original letters, deeds and agreements, notes of Royal loans and transfer of property through the most troublous days of English History.

3601-3605 CHAPTER REGISTERS. The earliest of these is of 1543: in 1612 they begin as separate books.

3611-3619 CHAPTER SEALING BOOKS. These contain Memoranda signed by the Chapter of the Sealing of all documents, after the regular 3 days' proposition. They commence at a critical period—1640—and mention the fines for renewals of all leases.

3625-3630 STATUTES OF THE CATHEDRAL. The first of these is called the Exeter Chronicle and has a very interesting Calendar, list of Bishops of St. Germans, rental of the Chapter, copies of the ordinances of Vicarages in Devon and Cornwall, and inventories.

3631-3663 CHAPTER MINUTE BOOKS. These are small 4to. volumes, with rough minutes made by the Chapter Clerk. They begin after the Restoration and contain much curious information.

3671-3811 MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS connected with the estates and finances of the Cathedral, Inventories, Chartularies, Visitation Books, Accounts of Obits and Estates left for Celebration of Masses, Books of Division of Income, &c. This is in some respects the most remarkable department of the MSS.

3812-4036 RENTALS AND SURVEYS of different Manors peculiar to the Dean and Chapter, a continuation of the Rotuli Debitorum; they are mostly books of large size on vellum, generally in good repair. Those of City Rents begin in 1630.

4501-4726 MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS in bundles, principally of the 17th and 18th centuries.

4751-5264 COURT ROLLS AND BAILIFFS' ACCOUNTS. Sales of Rectories and Glebe. These documents have no equal for graphic interest and minute detail in parochial annals; Ide, Sidbury, Culmstock, &c.

5301-5366 DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE COLLEGE OF VICARS CHORAL.

6000-6027 Leases and Counterparts. These are very numerous, they relate to the estates of the Dean and Chapter from the time of Edward I. till now. They are roughly arranged, in separate drawers, under the names of the different Manors to which they relate.

6028 Rotuli Solutionum Ministrorum.

6029 Citations, &c. (A.D. 1660-1820).

6030 Fragments of Decayed Books.

6032-6074 Leases and Counterparts, &c.

6075 Miscellaneous Papers of little or no value.

APPENDIX D.

Documents now in the Custody of the College of Vicars.

These are few and insignificant.

The most valuable papers bearing on the early history and endowments of this College or minor Corporation are naturally enough intermingled with those of the Dean and Chapter, and are to be found among their muniments.

Amongst the bound books on parchment dating from the 13th century is the Calendar or list of the Fratres Calendarii, who occupied a small Close and College near the Deanery, probably before the Vicars' houses were built by Bishop Brantingham.

This curious volume is full of interesting data and odd names, and contains recitals of the deeds by which this body was endowed and the office of initiation for a brother or sister.

Others are in the Probate Registry in Bedford Circus. See Appendix E (4).

APPENDIX E.

The Probate Court, Bedford Circus, Exeter.

The following lists shew the immense variety and richness of the strata of historical deposits once buried in the precincts of the Close.

They are now accessible, clean and well kept. The Court is open from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., except on Saturdays, when it is closed at 4 p.m.

The officials are at such times always most courteous and helpful.

There is, however, no accommodation for sitting down while engaged in copying. Ink may not be used.

The apartment set apart for visitors who desire to make searches or to copy is certainly neither convenient nor spacious.

Permission to search and make extracts free of charge must be obtained by an order from the President of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division, Somerset House, London, W.C.

This is available for six months and will allow of search being made in any Index down to the year 1794, and extracts to be made from any will or other document, up to but not after that date.

The following are the documents which formerly belonged to the Ecclesiastical authorities:—

(1.) *Principal Registry of the Bishop of Exon.*
Index from 1592 to 1858.

(2.) *Consistory Court of the Bishop of Exon.*
*Copies of Wills in books from 1532 to 1590 (not indexed).
Indexed from 1591 to 1858

(3.) *Peculiar of the Dean and Chapter of Exon.*
Index from 1591 to 1858.

(4.) *The Custos and College of the Vicars Choral* (Woodbury).
Index from 1633 to 1858.

(5.) *Peculiar of the Dean of the Cathedral Church of Exon* (within the Cathedral Close and the parish of Braunton).
Index from 1634 to 1858.

(6.) *Archdeaconry Court of Exon.*
Index from 1540 to 1858.

(7.) *Archdeaconry Court of Totnes.*
Index from 1513 to 1858, but no Wills or Copies before 1600.

(8.) *Archdeaconry Court of Barum.*
Index from 1563 to 1858.

APPENDIX F.

Probate Court, Bodmin.

In this Registry are preserved the records of the Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall and of the Court of the Deanery of Burian.

There are wills, bonds and inventories from about 1600 and Indexes for 30 years before to grants, of which no other record exists.

There is no other Probate Registry in Cornwall.

Grants made to estates of persons dying in parishes in the peculiar jurisdictions of the Dean and Chapter or of the Bishop of Exeter are in the Registry at Exeter.

A few still remain in the Consistory Court.

The Bodmin Registry is open for search from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., except on Wednesdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Permission to search and make extracts may be obtained as for the Exeter Court.

The following schedule is also helpful in detecting possible omissions:—

	Chasm for years.	Chasm during usurpation.
Principal Registry, 1592.		
Consistorial Court, 1557.		
Archdeaconry Court of Exeter, 1545 ..	4	8
—— Barum, 1573	4	11
—— Totnes, 1598	2	11
—— Cornwall, 1569 ..	2	11

* These volumes may be seen and extracts made without charge. They are in excellent preservation and present an unrivalled store of most interesting information.

APPENDIX G.

Documents in Custody of Town Clerk, Exeter.

The Record room of the City of Exeter is situated in the old Guildhall, immediately opposite the new Municipal buildings in Waterbeer Street.

It is not a bright or well-lighted apartment. There are no facilities for the student, nor is any encouragement given to inquisitive dilettanti to inspect the quite unparalleled collection of documents in the custody of the Town Clerk, but a request to see any special seal or charter will invariably be met by a most courteous concession. This apparent indifference to the instructive educational element to be found in these MSS. is justified by the fact that there is no official in the Civic Corporation whose duty it is to make them widely known or appreciated, neither is there any expert among the paid clerks in the department of the Town Clerk who could decipher them.

Thanks to the litigation forced upon the Council, it became necessary to refer to these once dusty and disorderly batches of manuscripts at different times, and these fortunate emergencies compelled the Council to consider the desirability of having a Calendar made without delay or parsimonious consideration of the cost involved.

Consequently, Mr. Stuart Moore was engaged to arrange and index this great mass of historical deeds at a cost of £1,000. He says in his Preface:

"The records possessed by the City of Exeter are, perhaps, the most remarkable that can be boasted of by any city or town in the United Kingdom. They are exceedingly voluminous—from the earliest times they have been compiled and kept in the most perfect manner, and thanks, partly to good fortune, but more especially to the great care and assiduity of various officers of the Corporation and other lovers of the City and its ancient rights, who have in times past expended much labour on them, they have suffered but little from the ordinary enemies of ancient records, and have come down to us in an almost unbroken series of muniments extending from the reign of King Edward the First. The Calendar has never been printed. (1) Royal Charters and Letters Patent, no less than 48 in number, extending from the reign of Henry the Second to that of George the Third, the last bearing date 25th April, 1770; (2) Commissions, many of them almost of the nature of Charters, commencing in the reign of Edward the Third (20th August, 1344), and going down to that of George the Second (1749); (3) a mass of Royal and other letters, &c., 623 all told; (4) a series of no fewer than 1860 deeds relating to various properties and charities, beginning with the reign of William the Conqueror and coming down to the present century; (5) the Mayor's Court Rolls, commencing about 1265 (Henry the Third's reign) and descending in almost unbroken series from 1286; (6) the Provost Court Rolls, dating from the second year of Edward the Third's reign and extending thenceforward as late as those of the Mayor's Court; (7) the Rolls of the Mayor's Court, beginning in the reign of the third Edward and ending during the sovereignty of Henry the Sixth; (8) the Receiver's Accounts, including the Accounts of Exe Bridge, the Manor of Exe Island, and the Manor of Duriurd (Duryard); (9) the Corporate records proper, now styled "Minutes," but in byegone days called "Chamber Act Books," commencing in 1509 and extending downwards to current times. The Charters and deeds are kept in drawers, all duly labelled, and arranged pigeon-hole fashion in one of the cupboard-like presses which encircle the room on nearly three sides; the Royal letters and other records of a general character, which formerly lay about in a loose and disorderly condition, but which Mr. Stuart Moore arranged in consecutive and chronological order, are securely bound in a series of seven substantial volumes of the scrap-book type, and have a shelf to themselves."

This Calendar has been for the most part printed in the monthly periodical called "Notes and Gleanings," edited by Messrs. Cotton and Dallas.

Mr. Cotton's efficient interest and labours in this direction are readily acknowledged by all who know anything of the City of Exeter. With the co-operation of the late Archdeacon Woollcombe, he achieved much towards a better knowledge of the most ancient Civic and Cathedral archives.

APPENDIX H.

Bishops of the Church of England in Devon and Cornwall, from 865—1894.

Cornwall.

Kenstec (Dinurrin) .. *c.* 865
Conan (S. German's) .. 931
Comoere (Bodmin) .. *c.* 960
Wulfsige (Bodmin) 967
Ealdred (Bodmin) 993
Aethelred 1001
Burhwold (S. German's) .. 1018

Crediton.

Eadulf 909
Aethelgeard I. .. 934
Elfwold 953
Sideman 973
Elfric 977
Elfwold 988
Eadnoth 1012

Cornwall and Crediton.

Lyfing 1027
Leofric 1046

Exeter.

Leofric 1046
Osbern 1073
William Warelwast .. *c.* 1107
Robert Chichester 1138
Robert Warelwast 1155
Bartholomew 1161
John Fitze-duke 1186
Henry Marshall 1194
Simon de Apuliâ 1214
William Briwere, or Bruere .. 1224
Richard Blondy 1245
Walter Bronescombe 1258
Peter Quivil 1280
Thomas De Bytton 1292
Walter De Stapledon 1308
James Barkley 1327
John De Grandisson 1327
Thomas De Brantyngham .. 1370
Edmund Stafford 1395
John Catterick 1419
Edmund Lacy .. 1420
George Nevylle 1458
John Bothe 1465
Peter Courtenay 1478
Richard Fox 1487
Oliver King 1493
Richard Redmayne .. 1495
John Arundell 1502
Hugh Oldam 1504
John Vêysey 1519
Miles Coverdale 1551
John Vêysey (restored) .. 1553
James Turberville 1555
William Alley 1560
William Bradbridge 1571-2
John Woolton 1578
Gervase Babington 1595
William Cotton 1598
Valentine Cary 1621
Joseph Hall 1627
Ralph Brownrigg 1642
John Gauden 1660
Seth Ward 1662
Anthony Sparrow 1667
Thomas Lamplugh 1676
Jonathan Trelawny 1688
Ofspring Blackall 1707
Launcelot Blackburn .. 1716
Stephen Weston 1724
Nicholas Clagett 1742
George Lavington 1746
Frederick Keppel 1763
John Ross 1772
William Buller 1797
Henry Reginald Courtenay .. 1793
John Fisher 1807
George Pelham 1808
William Carey 1820
Christopher Bethell 1830
Henry Phillpotts 1831
Frederick Temple 1869
Edward Henry Bickersteth .. 1885

Truro.

Edward White Benson .. 1877
George Howard Wilkinson .. 1883
John Gott 1891

APPENDIX I.

EXETER—The Cathedral Church.

THE DEAN.

Benjamin Morgan Cowie, D.D., £2,000, 1883.
Precentor, The Very Rev. the Dean, 1889.
Chancellor, The Ven. the Archdeacon of Exeter.
Treasurer, The Rev. Canon Atherton, 1891.

Archdeacons.

Ernest Grey Sandford, M.A., *Exeter* .. £50, 1888
Chas. Thos. Wilkinson, D.D. (*Dub.*), *Totnes* .. £200, 1888
Albert Eden Seymour, M.A., *Barnstaple* .. £200, 1890

Sub-Dean, Peter Leopold Dyke Acland, M.A., *nil*, 1887

Prebendaries (*Canons Residentiary*) 4.

Ernest Grey Sandford, M.A. £1,000, 1888
Charles Isaac Atherton, M.A. £1,000, 1889
Robert Edward Trefusis, M.A. £1,000, 1889
Walter John Edmonds, B.D. (*Librarian*) .. £1,000, 1890

Prebendaries (*Non-Residentiary*) 20.

Charles Felton Smith, M.A. .. 1856
Joseph Lloyd Brereton, M.A. .. 1858
Peter Leopold Dyke Acland, M.A. 1866
Philip Hedgeland, M.A. .. 1868
Richard Robbins Wolfe, M.A. .. 1875
Rt. Hon. the Earl of Devon M.A. 1876
Chas. Thos. Wilkinson, D.D. .. 1878
John Tayleur Pigot, M.A. .. 1882
Edgar Norris Dumbleton, M.A. 1885
Francis Charles Hingeston-Randolph, M.A. 1885
John Matthews, B.A. 1885
Harry Tudor, M.A. 1885
Edmund Ironside Gregory M.A. 1889
Percy Richard Scott, M.A. .. 1889
Richard James Hayne, M.A. .. 1889
Henry Bramley, M.A. .. 1892
M. D. Dimond-Churchward, M.A. 1893
W. S. Boyle, M.A. 1893
T. H. Howard, M.A. 1894
R. Martin, M.A. 1894

The Non-Residentiary Canons are called upon to preach twice in each year, according to annual rota. They receive four guineas for each sermon.

In the Cathedral Church of Exeter the Psalms were never recited in order, daily, by the Capitular Body.

As far as can be gathered from ancient documents, the employments of the Canons were essentially ceremonial and perfunctory *qua* the Cathedral Church, but distinctly secular and mundane *qua* their Corporate Estates.

The four *Personæ*, at least, were possessed of temporalities—or lands, with which their spiritual dignities were severally endowed. As Barons, they held under the King and paid suit and service to the Crown. Each had his own peculiar coat of arms and his esquire. At their obsequies, the palfrey and armour were claimed as heriot.

Chapter Clerk, Wm. John Battishill, B.A., 1878.
Surveyor, E. H. Harbottle, Exeter, 1894.
Succentor, H. de Vere Welchman, M.A., 1893.
Organist, Daniel J. Wood, Mus. Bac., Oxford, 1876.
Proctor for the Chapter in Convocation, Rev. Canon Edmonds.
Commissioner for the Chapter under The Pluralities Act, 1885, Rev. Sub-Dean Acland.

COLLEGE OF VICARS CHORAL.

Priest-Vicars.

William David, M.A. 1868
(Custos for 1895-6 and Dean's Vicar.)
Herbert Edward Reynolds, M.A. 1873
Edmund Thomas Foweraker 1878
H. de Vere Welchman, M.A. 1893

Lay Vicars.

Punctators	J. B. T. Browning .. 1864		Thomas Pallett	..	1878
	E. R. K. Northway .. 1865		F. Dison	..	1886
	Fredk. Stilliard .. 1877		J. D. Trotter .	..	1886
	Joseph Parsons .. 1866		S. J. Bishop ..	..	1891

The stipend of the brethren of the College of Vicars Choral is not given because it is varying in value. Sufficient to say that the income from tithes is much reduced.

Secondaries.	*Supernumeraries.*
H. Noble.	R. Trevithick.
J. H. Skinner.	A. J. N. Kendall.
	R. Frost.
	E. H. Jones.

Choristers (14).

Vergers.

John Downing .. 1884 | A. R. Palmer .. 1888

The Bishop and Diocesan Officials.

EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH, D.D., £4,200, 1885.

Residence,—The Palace, Exeter.

Jurisdiction of See. Devonshire (except 5 Parishes and a Hamlet in Diocese of Truro): Pop. 600,616. Area, 2,545⅓ sq. miles, or 1,629,009 acres.

Parishes in the Diocese, 540. *Benefices*, 508. *Deaneries*, 23.

Assistant Bishop, The Right Rev. G. W. H. Knight-Bruce, D.D.

ARCHDEACONS.

Exeter .. Ven. Ernest Grey Sandford, 1888.
Totnes .. Ven. Charles Thomas Wilkinson, 1888.
Barnstaple .. Ven. Albert Eden Seymour, 1890.

Surrogates for Marriage Licences.

Alvington West — Rev. Canon Houghton.
Ashburton—Rev. W. M. Birch.
Axminster—Rev. A. Newman.
Barnstaple—Rev. Dr. Newton.
Bideford—Rev. R. Granville.
Brixham—Rev. S. Sim.
Buckfastleigh—Rev. W. H. W. Tucker.
Buckland Filleigh, *Highampton*—Rev. J. R. Powell.
Crediton—Rev. Preb. Smith.
Devonport—Rev. W. H. Allin (S. Mary).
,, Rev. R. J. Bond (S. James)
,, Rev. P. Johnson (S. Aubyn).
,, Rev. W. Mantle (S. Michael).
Exeter—Rev. S. H. Berkeley (Heavitree).
,, Rev. W. David (S. Petrock).
,, Rev. Canon Edmonds.
,, Rev. W. G. Mallett (S Mary Major).
,, Rev. E. Read (S. Stephen).
,, Rev. W. W. Secretan (S. Olave).
Exminster—
Exmouth—Rev. W. H. D. Purcell.
Highweek—Rev. S. G. Harris.
Holsworthy—Rev. T. S. Kendall.
Honiton—Rev. H. K. Venn.
Ilfracombe—Rev. Preb. Martin.
Lifton—Rev. W. W. Martyn.
Lustleigh—Rev. Preb. Tudor.
Lynton, *Barnstaple*—Rev. W. E. Cox.
Modbury—Rev. G. C. Green.
Newton Abbot—
Okehampton—Rev. F. W. Saulez.
Ottery S. Mary—Rev. M. Kelly.
Plymouth—Rev. G. B. Berry (Emmanuel).
,, Rev. C. Vickers (Charles).
,, Ven. Archdeacon Wilkinson (S. Andrew).
Sherwell, *Barnstaple*—
Sidmouth—Rev. H. G. J. Clements.
Southmolton—Rev. F. King.
Staverton, *Totnes*—Rev. J. B. Hughes.
Stockleigh English—Rev. J. E. Risk (S. Andrew's Chapel).
Tavistock—
Teignmouth—Rev. J. Metcalfe.
Thorverton, *Cullompton*—Rev. S. Childs Clarke.
Tiverton—Rev. Preb. Scott.
Torquay—Rev. E. P. Gregg (Upton).
,, Rev. H. W. Majendie (Torre).
,, Rev. Preb. Wolfe ('Arthrington').
Torrington—Rev. E. Jones.
Totnes—Rev. T. H. Elliott.
Winkleigh—Rev. H. Bremridge.

Rural Deans.

Aylesbeare—H. P. Alford (Woodbury Salterton).
Barnstaple—Preb. Martin (Ilfracombe).
Cadbury—F. J. Coleridge (Cadbury).
Christianity—T. J. Ponting (S. Matthew, Exeter).
Chulmleigh—A. W. Owen (Eggesford).
Dunkeswell and Honiton—J. H. Copleston (Offwell).
Hartland—Preb. Dimond-Churchward (Northam).
Holsworthy — F. Russell Rawes (Bradford).
Ipplepen—E. P. Gregg (Upton).
Kenn—J. T. S. Bryett (Ide).
Moreton—W. M. Birch (Ashburton).
Okehampton—J. Worthington (North Lew).
Ottery—Maitland Kelly (Ottery).
Plympton—P. H. Cudlip (Sparkwell).
Sherwell—P. J. Wodehouse (Bratton Fleming).
South Molton—H. G. Southcomb (Roseash).
Tavistock—G. D. Symonds (Coryton).
The Three Towns—Preb. Howard (S. Jude, Plymouth).
Tiverton East—Preb. Gregory (Halberton).
Tiverton West—A. Hillyard (Stoodleigh).
Torrington—W. B. Vere Stead (Huntshaw).
Totnes—J. B. Hughes (Staverton).
Woodleigh—Canon Houghton (West Alvington).

PROCTORS IN CONVOCATION.

For the Chapter, Rev. Canon Edmonds.
For the Diocese, Rev. Preb. Tudor and Rev. Preb. Martin.

COMMISSIONERS UNDER THE PLURALITIES ACT, 1885.

For the Chapter, Rev. Sub-Dean Acland, Broadclyst, Exeter.
For the Diocese, Archdnry. of Exeter—Rev. Preb. Gregory, Halberton, Tiverton.
,, Totnes—Rev. W. H. Thornton, N. Bovey, Moreton.
,, Barnstaple—Rev. Preb. Pigot, Fremington.

Examining Chaplains to the Bishop.

Ven. Archdeacon Sandford, The Close, Exeter.
Rev. Canon Trefusis, The Chantry, Exeter.
Rev. F. K. Aglionby, Christ Church Vicarage, Victoria St., London, S.W.
Rev. F. J. Chavasse, Oxford.
Rev. Stewart Gordon Ponsonby, S. Aubyn, Devonport.

Chaplains to the Bishop.

Rev. Preb. Pigot, Rev. W. David, Rev. Preb. Bramley, Rev. Preb. Hayne, Rev. W. M. Birch.

Secretary to the Bishop, Arthur Burch, Exeter.
Domestic Chaplain, Rev. H. V. Bickersteth, The Palace, Exeter.
London Secretary, Sir John Hassard, Vicar General's Office, 3, Creed Lane, Doctors' Commons, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
Chancellor of the Diocese, Lewis Tonna Dibdin, D.C.L., 1888. 15, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
Registrar, A. Burch, 1888.
Registrar of the Consistory Court, A. Burch, 1879.
Apparitor of the Diocese and Macebearer, C. E. Phillpotts, 1852.
Deputy Macebearer, Thomas Munday, Exeter, 1888.
Assessors under the Clergy Discipline Act for the Dean and Chapter of Exeter—Ven. Archdeacon Sandford, Canon Edmonds, Preb. Gregory; *for the Archdeaconry of Exeter*—Rev. F. Sterry, Rev. S. H. Berkeley, Rev. Preb. Gregory, Rev. F. J. Coleridge; *for the Archdeaconry of Totnes*—Ven. Archdeacon Wilkinson, Rev. C. Martin, Rev. G. H. Statham, Rev. J. M. Cox; *for the Archdeaconry of Barnstaple*—Ven. Archdeacon Seymour, Rev. Preb. M. D. Dimond-Churchward, Rev. Preb. Martin, Rev. Preb. Pigot; *Lay Assessors*—Rt. Hon. Lord Clinton, Sir J. B. Phear, W. H. Halliday, Esq., H. Clark, Esq., W. R. Coleridge, Esq.

Surveyors of Ecclesiastical Dilapidations for the Diocese.

Archdeaconry of Exeter .. E. H. Harbottle, Exeter.
,, *Barnstaple* .. G. C. Smyth-Richards, Barnstaple.
,, *Totnes* .. Deaneries of Ipplepen, Moreton, Totnes and Woodleigh—W. Rowell, Newton Abbot. Okehampton, Plympton, Tavistock and Three Towns - J. M. Andrew, 5, Courtenay Street, Plymouth.

Registrars of Archdeaconries.

T. J. Bremridge, Exeter; T. C. Kellock, Totnes; W. H. Toller, Barnstaple.

Senior Diocesan Inspector of Schools.

Rev. J. F. Powning, The Close, Exeter.

Assistant Diocesan Inspector of Schools.
G. S. S. Bicknell, 33, Richmond Road, Exeter.

Hon. Assistant Diocesan Inspectors.
Rev. Canon Houghton, Rev. G. D. Melhuish, Rev. G. H. Statham, Rev. C. P. Whitaker, Rev. J. A. Prendergast, Rev. R. Gibbs.

Diocesan Missioner. Rev. Canon Atherton, Exeter.

Assistant Missioner. Rev. H. P. Cronshaw.

APPENDIX J.

TRURO—The Cathedral Church.

BISHOP. PSALMS.

The Right Rev. John Gott, D.D., 1891 . ..... *Beatus vir* to *Verba mea auribus,* and *Laudate Dominum quoniam* to *Laudate Dnm. in.*

DEAN.

The Lord Bishop, 1891 .. .. *Domine ne in furore* to *In Domine confido.*

Archdeacons

Cornwall—Ven. J. R. Cornish, M.A., 1888.
Bodmin—Ven. H. H. DuBoulay, M.A., 1892.

Residentiary Canons.

A. B. Donaldson, M.A., 1885. *(Precentor)* .. *Salvum me fac* to *Exaudi Domine justitiam.*

A. J. Worlledge, M.A., 1887. *(Chancellor)* .. *Diligam te Dne.* to *Domine in virtute.*

Under 50 & 51 Vict., cap. 12, sec. 8.

C. F. J. Bourke, M.A., 1889. (*Sub-Dean* and *Rector of Truro.*) } *Domine ne in furore* to *In Domine confido.*

B. G. Hoskyns, M.A., 1895. (*Missioner*) .. *Deus Deus meus* to *Judica me Domine.*

Honorary Canons.

STALL OF

*(1) A. C. Thynne, M.A., 1878 .. (S. Neot) .. *In convertendo* to *Laudate nomen Domini;* and *Dominus illuminatio* to *In te Domine speravi* (as Treasurer).

R. Vautier, M.A, 1878 .. (S. German) .. *Noli æmulari* to *Expectans expectavi.*

S. Rogers, M.A., 1878 .. (S. Piran) .. *Beatus qui intelligit* to *Deus noster refugium.*

J. R. Cornish, M.A., 1878 .. (S. Buriena) .. *Dixit insipiens* to *Si vere utique.*

C. F. Harvey, M.A., 1878 (S. Carantoc) .. *Omnes gentes plaudite* to *Quid gloriaris.*

R. F. Wise, M.A., 1879 .. (S. Columb) .. *In exitu Israel* to *Confitemini Domine dicat nunc*

	W. P. Chappel, M.A., 1881	(S. Constantine)	*Deus stetit* to *Domine Deus salutis.*
	P. Bush, M.A., 1882 ..	.. (S. Paul)	..*Misericordias Domini* to *Bonum est confiteri.*
	H. H. DuBoulay, M.A., 1882	(S. Samson)	*Dominus regnavit decorem* to *regnavit exultet.*
	F. Hockin, M.A., 1883 ..	(S. Conan)	..*Voce mea ad Dnm.* to *Lauda, anima.*
	A. P. Moor, M.A., 1883 .	(S. Nectan)	..*Benedic anima mea Dno. Dne* and *Confitemini Dno. et invocate.*
*(2)	J. H. Moore, M.A., 1885 ..	(S. Teilo)	*Confitemini Dno. quoniam quis loquetur* and *Confitemini dicant.*
	J. S. Tyacke, M.A., 1885..	(S. Ia)	. *Eripe me* to *Exaudi Deus.*
	T. Hullah, M.A., 1888 ..	(S. Corentin)	..*Beati quorum* to *Dixit injustus.*
	V. H. Aldham, M.A., 1889	(S. Winwoloc)	*Beati immaculati* to *Bonitatem fecisti.*
*(3)	C. F. J. Bourke, M.A., 1889	(S. Meriadoc)	..*Manus tuæ fecerunt me* to *Justus es, Dne.*
	W. F. Everest, B.A., 1890	(S. Adwenna)	..*Paratum cor* to *Laudate pueri.*
	J. Hammond, B.A., LL.B. 1892	(S. Aldhelm)	*Clamavi in toto corde* to *Qui confidunt.*
	G. H. Whitaker, M.A., 1814	(S. Petroc)	..*Attendite populo* to *Exultate Deo.*
	C. E. Hammond, M.A., 1894	(S. Rumon)	..*Confitemini Domino confitemini* to *Dno. clamavi.*
	J. B. Jones, M.A., 1894 ..	(S. Germoc)	..*Quam bonus Israel* to *Voce mea ad Dominum.*
*(4)	B. G. Hoskyns, M.A., 1895	(S. Cybi)	..*Cantate Domino canticum novum quia* to *Benedic anima mea Domino et.*
	F. J. Bone, M.A., 1895 ..	(S. Uni)	..*Te decet hymnus* to *Exurgat Deus.*
		(S. Breaca)	..*Salvum me fac Deus* to *Deus judicium.*

*(1) Treasurer. (2) President of Hon. Canons. (3) Sub-Dean. (4) Missioner.

According to the custom of Cathedrals of the Old Foundation, the Psalter is daily recited by the Canons and other members of the Cathedral Body, one portion by each person, privately, as a memorial of their fraternal unity in work and worship and as a spiritual intercession for the whole Church.

The Psalms appropriated to the Bishop, Dean, Residentiary and Honorary Canons severally, according to the Draft Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Truro, 1883, are as above.

Proctor in Convocation (1892).

Chancellor Worlledge, M.A.

Commissioner under the Pluralities' Acts' Amendment Act (1894).

Archdeacon DuBoulay, M.A.

Assessors under the Clergy Discipline Act, (1892).

Sub-Dean Bourke, M.A.
Canon A. C. Thynne, M.A.
Canon P. Bush, M.A.

Rev. H. R. Jennings, M.A. (*Vice-Chancellor*), 1895.
Rev. T. F. Maddrell, M.A. (*Priest Vicar*) .. 1888.
Rev. A. M. Cazalet, B.A. (*Priest Vicar*) .. 1889.
Rev. A. C. LeGeyt, B.A. (*Priest Vicar, Hon.*), 1894.
Rev. E. Ormerod, B.A. (*Sacrist*) .. .. 1893.

Chapter Clerk (for Patronage).

W. J. Battishill, Esq., B.A. (Exeter).

Sub-Treasurer.

T. H. Hodge, Esq. (Truro).

Organist.

Mark James Monk, Mus. Doc., Oxford.

Twelve *Choirmen.* Twenty *Choristers* (Pedler Scholars).

Verger, T. Pascoe. *Assist. Verger*, T. Allen. *Canons' Verger*,

Table of the Preaching Turns.

The Stall intituled of	*The Sunday of the Turn.*
The Lord Bishop .	Easter Day, Whitsun Day, and three more.
The Dean	Christmas Day, Quinquagesima Sunday, and three more.
The Precentor ..	Septuagesima, Ash Wednesday, and two more.
The Chancellor ..	Five Sundays in Lent.
The Missioner ..	First Sunday after Easter, the Ascension, and two more.
The Treasurer ..	The Epiphany, the First Sunday after Trinity, and one more.
The Sub-Dean ..	Sexagesima. The Second Sunday after Trinity and two more.
The Archdeacon of Cornwall ..	The Sunday after Christmas.
The Archdeacon of Bodmin	The Sunday after Ascension Day.
S. Corentin ..	The First Sunday after the Epiphany.
S. German	The Second Sunday after the Epiphany, and Twenty-seventh after Trinity.
S. Piran	The Third Sunday after the Epiphany, and Twenty-sixth after Trinity.
S. Carantoc ..	The Fourth Sunday after the Epiphany, and Twenty-fifth after Trinity.
S. Buriena ..	The Fifth Sunday after the Epiphany, and Twenty-fourth after Trinity.
S. Ia	The Sixth Sunday after the Epiphany, and Twenty-third after Trinity.
S. Uni	The Seventh Sunday after Trinity.
S. Breaca	The Eighth Sunday after Trinity.
S. Germoc ..	The Ninth Sunday after Trinity.
S. Petroc	The Tenth Sunday after Trinity.
S. Constantine ..	The Eleventh Sunday after Trinity.
S. Paul	The Twelfth Sunday after Trinity.

S. Samson	The Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity.
S. Cybi	The Fourteenth Sunday after Trinity.
S. Nectan	The Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity.
S. Teilo	The Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity.
S. Adwenna ..	The Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity.
S. Columb	The Eighteenth Sunday after Trinity.
S. Winwoloc ..	The Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity.
S. Meriadoc ..	The Twentieth Sunday after Trinity.
S. Aldhelm ..	The Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity.
S. Neot	The Twenty-second Sunday after Trinity.
S. Rumon	The Second Sunday after Easter.
S. Conan	The Third Sunday after Easter.

The Lord Bishop supersedes any Preacher at pleasure, giving due notice that it is his purpose to preach.

When the Bishop holds an Ordination in the Cathedral, he appoints a Preacher for that turn on whatever day it may be.

"Every Canon shall if possible take his own turn; yet if need require "he may exchange turns with any other Canon, provided that he give due "notice of the exchange to the Chancellor on the Tuesday before at latest. "Failing a Canon on any assigned turn, it shall be the duty of the "Chancellor to preach, or to provide a Preacher to be approved by the "Bishop. And to the Chancellor it belongs to carry out all arrangements "made for preaching."

APPENDIX K.

Diocesan Officials.

THE BISHOP.

The Right Reverend John Gott, D.D., 1891.

Residences,—Trenython, Par Station (*postal address*), and Lis Escop, Truro.

Jurisdiction of See. } County of Cornwall and five Parishes of Devon. Population (according to Census 1891), 325,031. Area, 1,359 sq. miles.

Deaneries, 12; Benefices, 237 (including the 3 Prebends of Endellion); Incumbents, 231; Assistant Curates, 91; other Clergy, 38; Parsonage Houses, 216; Lay Readers, 48.

Chancellor of the Diocese.

The Worshipful Robert Macleane Paul, M.A., Southleigh, Truro, 1886.

Archdeacons.

Cornwall—The Ven. John Rundle Cornish, M.A., Kenwyn V., Truro, 1888.
Bodmin—The Ven. Henry Houssemayne DuBoulay, M.A., Lawhitton R., Launceston, 1892.

Bishop's Chaplains.

Rev. Canon H. Scott Holland, M.A., Amen Court, London, E.C.
Rev. Chancellor A. J. Worlledge, M.A., Truro .. ..
Ven. Archdeacon Cornish, M.A., Kenwyn V., Truro ..
Rev. Canon Whitaker, Gardengraith, Ocklynge, Eastbourne.. } *Examining.*
Rev. Canon Thynne, M.A., Kilkhampton, Stratton.
Rev. Canon J. H. Moore, M.A., Kenwyn, Truro.

Domestic Chaplain—Rev. E. F. Nugent, M.A., Trenython, Par Station.

Secretary to the Bishop—Arthur Burch, Esq., Principal Registry, Exeter.

London Secretary—Sir John Hassard, 3, Creed Lane, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Registrar of the Diocese—Arthur Burch, Esq., Exeter.

Registrar of the Consistorial Court—Arthur Burch, Esq., Exeter.

Registrar of the Archdeacon of Cornwall—W. Kerby, Esq., Truro.

Registrar of the Archdeacon of Bodmin—C. L. Cowlard, Esq., Launceston.

Apparitor General—Charles E. Phillpotts, Esq.

Diocesan Surveyors of Dilapidations.

Archdeaconry of Cornwall.—Mr. W. K. Jenkins, Porthleven, Helston (appointment 20th November, 1894, till 20th November, 1897).

Archdeaconry of Bodmin.—Mr. J. M. Strong, S. Stephen's, Launceston (appointment 27th August, 1894, till 27th August, 1899).

APPENDIX L.

The Joint Testimonie of the Ministers of Devon, 1648.

Most singular is the document which emanated from the Ministers of Devon as 'their joint testimonie with the Ministers of London (printed by W. Dugard in 1648), unto the truth of Jesus, with a brief confutation of the errors, heresies and blasphemies of these times and the toleration of them, in pursuance of the solemn League and Covenant of the three nations.'

Referring to the Second Epistle of St. Peter and the Second of S. Paul to Timothy, they express their horror at recent developments of Devilish Doctrines. The name of Holiness—say they, with a touch of sharp cynicism—makes heresy lovely.

Wits without Grace are the fittest instruments for the Devil. Refuting *inter alios* the errors of John Bidle, they declare that the distinction between Essence and Person, in the Godhead, is in Scripture (if not in terms, yet in sense), and it is not *a wretched distinction.*

Also the errors of Paul Best, that the Father is God Essentially, the Son Vicentially, and the Holy Spirit Potentially, and that Christ had but a gradual difference between Moses and us, they repudiate.

Proceeding then to prove that 'the Saints have by the Spirit a real true mystical union with God in Christ, they affirm that the word of God forbids Toleration of all errors, heresies and blasphemies whatsoever, under Pretence of Liberty of Conscience.' The following is a fair specimen of the style of exhortation and reproof:

"Hear, O England. Turn not Harlot, Break not Covenant with thy God, yet, if thou wilt rebel thou must be judged as an whore, stript, carted, thy nose slit and thy ears cut off, and thyself made a scorn and hissing to the Nations round about thee. The Lord keep England from this covenant breaking and this vengeance from his people."

George Hughes, minister in Plymouth.
Alex. Trosse, Ashburton.
John Seager, Broadehempston.
Fr. Widden, Moreton Hamstead.
Antony Harford, Portmouth.
Ferdinando Nicolls, Mary Arches, Exon.
Thomas Ford, in Exon.
J. Bartlet, of Mary the More, in Exon.
T. Downe, Paul's, in Exon.
Mark Donne, Petrock's, in Exon.
R. Coles, in Crediton.
Edmund Pearse, in Crediton.
Robert Snow, of Morchard.
Fr. Bernard, Awton Gifford.
T. Trescott, Shobrook.
T. Whitborne, Upton Hellyns.
Nath. Durant, Pastor of Cheriton.
J. Hopkins, Minister of Sandford.
T. Ceely, Lapford.
J. Preston, Thorverton.
P. Osborne, Jacobstow.
W. Trevithick, Hatherly.
Antony Down, North Ham.
J. Way, Kingsbridge.
G. Pitt, West Alvington.
T. Bridgman, Inwardlegh.
T. Sprat, Taliton.
R. Babington, Sidbury.
Ames Short, Pastor of Topisham.
T. Wilcock, Powderham.
Sam. Jones, Woodberry.
J. Buckley, Thurlestone.
Humphrey Dyer, of Ilsington.
Ph. Serle, of Whimple.
J. Serle, of Awliscombe.
R. Cressen, Axmouth.
G. Hammond, Minister at Mamhead.
W. Yeo, Minister of East Buckland
J. Garrett, Totnes.
R. Conant, Otterton.
J. Hill, North Moulton.
J. Beare, Chittlehampton.
W. Yeo, Newton Abbott.
W. Bowden, Ashton.
W. Stocke, Dunchidock.
P. Goddard, Sowton.
W. Treise, Minister of the Gospel.
J. Forward, Pastor of Ottery St. Marie.
W. Ball, Minister of Ottery St. Marie.
Humprey Saunders, Pastor of Holsworthy.
J. Stephens, of East Ogwell.
F. Sorton, of Honiton.
R. Bickley, of Denberry.
W. Baily, Stockflemming.
W. Randall, Berry Pomeroy.
T. Lovay, Dartington.
And. Cove, Petertavy.
J. Barnes, Minister of Abbots Kerswell.
Nat. Terry, Pastor of Painton.
Josias Gale, Minister of West Buckland.
J. Read, of Ilfracomb.
Chr. Jellinger, of Brent.
Rob. Stidston, of Mary Church.
W. Collins, Modbury.
Fr. Porter, Plimmouth.
T. Trevers, Plimmouth.
Joshua Morrice, Preacher of Gospel at Buxham (!), *i.e.* Brixham.
T. Friend, Minister of Blackawton.
Alex. Skinner, of Gittisham.
J. Heming, in Maristow.
J. Squire, of Lifton.
R. Hancock, North Petherwin.

A similar Representation was made to the Generall and his Councell of War, bearing date, January 18th, 1648.

APPENDIX M.

List of Gentlemen in the County of Devon who Compounded for their Estates and the sums then paid by them, 1660.

The truly incongruous way in which both in and out of season all things were salted with scriptural quotations may be illustrated by the following

extract from the scarce printed list of those who compounded for their estates in Devon and Cornwall:—

Henry Ashford, of Ashford, Esq.	£1,150.
Henry Ackland, of Columber	£1,777.
John Arundel, of Lanhear	£2,002.
Sir Peter Ball, of Dawlish D.	£1,250.
Arthur Bastard, of Underleigh	£1,321.
R. Culm, of Canon Leigh	£8,906.
Sir Henry Carey, of Cockingham	£1,985.

Gal. II., 18.—"If I build again the things I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor"

APPENDIX N.

Certain Facts, gathered from a Private Letter, as to the Persons Executed after Monmouth's Rebellion, &c., 1685.

The following additional facts are found in an original letter now in the Bodleian:—

Amongst 13 persons executed at Bridport, September 11th, 1685, were Rob. and John Bull, of Axminster: Ben. Sandford, of Combpine: John Lee of Buckerell: W. Quinton, Shute: T. Clap, Sidmouth: T. Cook, Kilmington: G. Collier, Uplime; John Sprake and Aymas Pinney of Axmouth.

September 15th, 1685. J. Foweracres, of Exeter, at Exeter: T. Hobbs, at Crediton: W. Parsons and T. Quinton, at Ottery: J. Sprake and W. Clegg, at Collyton: J. Oliver, A. Knight, Sam. Pots and J. Knowles, at Honiton: T. Brougham, J. Gosling, T. Dunkin and J. Ross, at Axminster.

"The heads and quarters of these persons to be fixed where the King shall appoint." But in a letter written from Harpford, September 30th, 1685, the writer says that out of 27 condemned, 13 only were ordered for execution, but only 2 or 3 actually killed.

The same writer, on December 27th, says that many near Taunton "had made for themselves Tabernacles of ferne in such places that but 1 man could reach them at a time." Thence they sallied out and had hanged the hangman himself.

October 21st. He also writes that "the rebels had burnt the records at Wells, but they were only counterparts of leases and such things as related to the patrimony of the Bishoprick." There was no Register kept of what they consisted.

And on June 8th, 1686, the same writer declares that he had heard how "at the intercession of the maides of honour His Majestie granted a warrant to pardon all females excepted in the late general pardon."

The Bishop of Exeter had spoken with no uncertain voice when, after the Quarter Sessions, held at Exeter October 6th, 1685, he brought this serious indictment against the Nonconformist and Conventicle preachers. They had, wrote Bishop Thomas Lamplugh to his clergy, been "mischievous factors and seduced unwary people. They were fit Chaplains for such a mushroom King and fit spiritual guides for such lewd Revells. The sword must be kept unsheathed."

Warrants were at once to be issued: the reward for apprehension raised from 40s. to £3.

The clergy were to read this proclamation throughout the county of Devon, in their churches, on the next Sunday.

APPENDIX O.

Petition or Lamentable Indictment of the Cornish Gentlemen, Ministers and others, to the High Sheriffs and others of Cornwall.

The terrors of military tyranny were never more painfully felt than by the English nation during the last years of the Rump Parliament.

The Cornish people had had enough, when the gentlemen ministers and freeholders, on behalf of themselves and the county, complained in five lamentable indictments of the disorderly condition of affairs, and took for their text the words of the prophet Jeremiah, crying: "They had healed the daughters of my people with sweet words, saying Peace, Peace, when there was no peace;" and then, referring to the 6th verse of the Book of Judges, ch. xvii., address the High Sheriffs and Justices as "you the heads of our tribes and Fathers of our county."

This was drawn up on December 27th, 1659, and proclaimed in the market place at Truro on December 31st.

APPENDIX P.

Extracts from "London Gazette" as to circumstances attending flight and translation of Bishop Lamplugh, 1688.

The monumental epitaph of Archbishop Lamplugh, says:

"*licet Dignitatem multum deprecatus.*"

The account of his retirement from Exeter is as follows:—

London Gazette, No. 2398, *Exon, November 6th,* 1685.

"The Prince of Orange marching towards this city, and we being in no condition to oppose him, the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of this Diocese thought it requisite to leave this place, being gone to London to pay his duty to the King and to receive His Majesty's further commands."

Gazette, No. 2401, *Whitehall, November,* 16*th.*

"His Majesty has been graciously pleased to translate the R. Rev. to the Archbishoprick of York."

Gazette, No. 2408, *December,* 9*th.*

"Did homage."

Gazette, December, 11*th.*

"Signed declaration of Lords Spiritual and Temporal addressed to the Prince of Orange in order to the calling of a free Parliament. The Temporalities were received from King William III."

APPENDIX Q.

The Financial Condition of Truro Cathedral, 1895.

ENDOWMENT.

	Annual
Bishop	£3,000
Dean	*nil.*

Canons.

Precentor	£400
Chancellor	£400
Sub-Dean	*nil.*

(but always holds Rectory of S. Mary's, value £110, cf. 50 & 51 Vic. c. 12, sec. 7).

Missioner	*nil.*

(Stipend provided annually. Summoned as a Residentiary Canon by Bishop, cf. 50 & 51 Vic. c. 12, sec. 8).

Dean .. .. .. The Bishop.

Residentiary Canons.

Precentor	Aug. B. Donaldson, M.A.
Chancellor	A. J Worlledge, M.A.
Sub-Dean	C. F. J. Bourke, M.A.
Missioner	B. G. Hoskyns, M.A.

This is the correct order of the four Members of the Residentiary Chapter.

ENDOWMENT OF CHOIR.

		Annual
(*a*)	Scholarships for Choristers—	
	Bequests by Miss Field	£20
	Do. by Miss Pedler	£120
(*b*)	For Choir—	
	Bequest by Miss Pedler	£180

SERVICES AND FABRIC.

	Annual
Various gifts, Interest on	£80

There is in hand a sum of £12,800 towards the Building of the Cathedral Church.

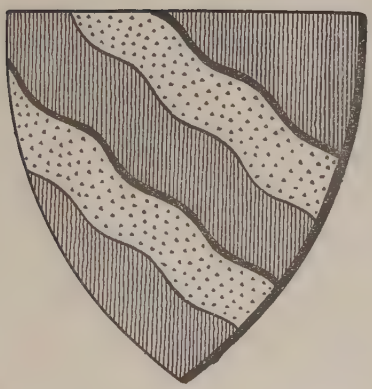
The expenses of the Fabric and Services are maintained, in addition to these slender endowments, by—

(*a*) Collections at the Offertory.
Annual average for this object only £310

(*b*) By the Cathedral Union Fund.
Subscribed throughout the Diocese annually .. £550

The Archdeaconry of Cornwall Bill is a proposal that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should pay the Archdeacon of Cornwall £200 a year from their Common Fund. It has passed the Lords three times, and was read a second time in the Commons four years ago, but was blocked in Committee.

At present he is paid from the Canonry, worth £1,000 a year, transferred from Exeter; this was intended to go to Truro Cathedral.

At present £800 goes to the endowment of the two Stalls of Precentor and Chancellor, and the remaining £200 to pay the Archdeacon of Cornwall. As he is not a member of the Cathedral Chapter, it is desired to put this right and pay the *Diocesan* Officer (the Archdeacon), from the Common Fund of the Commissioners. The £200 thus set free will be allotted to the maintenance of the Fabric and Services.

Some funds are in hand, including £4,000 of Miss Pedler's bequest, towards the endowment of a third Stall, which will be founded when the income reaches £300 a year.